

JEREMIAH O'DONOVAN ROSSA.

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 8 February 1870.—*per*,

COPY "of the RECORD of the CONVICTION and of the JUDGMENT in the
Case of *The Queen against Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa*, tried at a Special
Commission of Oyer and Terminer, held at Dublin on the 27th day of
November 1865."

SPECIAL COMMISSION, NOVEMBER 1865.

RECORD.

COUNTY OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, to wit.—BE it remembered that at a Caption.
Session of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery, held at the Sessions
House in Green-street, in and for the said County of the City of Dublin, on Monday,
the Twenty-seventh day of November, in the Twenty-ninth Year of the Reign
of our Sovereign Lady Victoria, by the Grace of G-d of the United Kingdom of
Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, and in the
Year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-five, before John
Barrington, Lord Mayor of the City of Dublin, the Right Honourable William
Keogh, Second Justice of Her Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, and the Right
Honourable John David Fitzgerald, Fourth Justice of Her Majesty's Court of
Queen's Bench, and others their fellows, jointly and severally, Justices and
Commissioners and Justice and Commissioner of Our said Lady the Queen, in Commission.
and for the whole County of the City of Dublin, nominated and appointed by
Letters Patent of Our said Lady the Queen, under the Great Seal of that part of
the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Ireland, bearing date
at Dublin, the Thirty-first day of October, in the Twenty-ninth Year of the Reign
of Our said Lady the Queen, directed to the said John Barrington, Lord Mayor
of the City of Dublin, in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, and the
Lord Mayor of the said City for the time being; the Right Honourable Thomas
Lefroy, Chief Justice of Her Majesty's Court of Queen's Bench; the Right
Honourable James Henry Monahan, Chief Justice of Her Majesty's Court of
Common Pleas; the Right Honourable David Richard Pigot, Chief Baron of Her
Majesty's Court of Exchequer; the said Right Honourable William Keogh,
Second Justice of the said Court of Common Pleas; the Honourable Jonathan
Christian, Third Justice of the said Court of Common Pleas; the Honourable
James O'Brien, Second Justice of the said Court of Queen's Bench; the Honour-
able Edmund Hayes, Third Justice of the said Court of Queen's Bench; the
Honourable Francis Alexander Fitzgerald, Second Baron of the said Court of
Exchequer; the Honourable Henry George Hughes, Third Baron of the said Court
of Exchequer; the said Right Honourable John David Fitzgerald, Fourth Justice
of the said Court of Queen's Bench; the Right Honourable Richard Deasy, Fourth
Baron of the said Court of Exchequer; the Right Honourable Thomas O'Hagan,
Fourth Justice of the said Court of Common Pleas; John Hawley, Richard
Armstrong, and Sir Colman O'Loughlin, Baronet, Her Majesty's First, Second, and
Third Sergeants-at-Law, or any or either of them, to inquire into, hear, and
determine all and all manner of treasons, murders, manslaughter, burnings,
felonies, robberies, crimes, contempts, offences, transgressions, evil doings, and
matters

matters and things whatsoever, by whomsoever done, committed, or perpetrated, within the said County of the City of Dublin, as well against the Peace and Common Law of Ireland, as against the form and effect of any Statute or Statutes, Acts, Ordinances, or Provisions theretofore made, ordained, or confirmed, and from time to time as often as need shall be, to deliver the Goals of Our said Lady the Queen of the County of the City of Dublin aforesaid, of all prisoners and malefactors therein; upon the oath and affirmation of Joseph Casson, Joseph Wilson, Edward Kinahan, Alfred Alexander, William Foot, David Drummond, Denis Moylan, Edward Fottrell, Benjamin Fancett, William Hogg, John Campbell, Andrew Bagot, John Findlater, Anthony Fox, Adam Findlater, George Andrews, Alphonso Busby, George Kinahan, William Acton, Richard Mauders, Nicholas Lawler, Henry Hoyte, and William Graham, Esquires, good and lawful men of the County of the City aforesaid, then and there sworn, affirmed, and charged to inquire for Our said Lady the Queen and the Body of the County of the City aforesaid, it is presented in manner and form following, that is to say:—

COUNTY OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, to wit.—THE JURORS for our Lady the Queen upon their oath present that *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, not regarding the duty of their allegiance, but wholly withdrawing the love, obedience, fidelity, and allegiance which every true and faithful subject of our said Lady the Queen does and of right ought to bear towards our said Lady the Queen, after the passing of an Act of Parliament made and passed in the eleventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria, entitled "An Act for the Better Security of the Crown and Government of the United Kingdom," to wit on the first day of January, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-three, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did compass, imagine, invent, devise and intend to deprive and depose our said Lady the Queen from the style honour and royal name of the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* feloniously and wickedly did express, utter, and declare, by divers overt acts and deeds hereinafter mentioned, that is to say:—

In order to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Manus O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Haligan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, John Murphy*, otherwise called *Pagan O'Leary, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to raise, make and levy insurrection and rebellion against our said Lady the Queen within this realm.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Manus O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Haligan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *John Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to subvert and destroy the constitution and government of this realm as by law established.

And

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Moxus O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Haltigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary* otherwise called *John Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to move and stir certain foreigners and strangers, to wit certain citizens of the United States of America, and persons resident in America, with force to invade that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate, and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Moxus O'Keefe, George Anderson, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Haltigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *John Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to establish an unlawful association, the members whereof should take and bind themselves by an oath importing to bind the person taking the same to renounce allegiance to our Lady the Queen, to make Ireland an independent republic, to take up arms and fight at a moment's warning, and to yield implicit obedience to the commands of his superiors.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Moxus O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Haltigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *John Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to become and be members of a certain society called and known as the *Penian Brotherhood*, having for its object the overthrow of Her Majesty's power and authority within that portion of her dominions called Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit, on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate, and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Moxus O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Haltigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *John Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to establish an unlawful association the members whereof should take and bind themselves by an oath importing to bind the person taking the same to make Ireland an independent republic, to take up arms

arms and fight at a moment's warning, and to yield implicit obedience to the commands of his superiors.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Mannus O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Halligan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary* otherwise called *John Murphy*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to establish an unlawful association, the members whereof should take and bind themselves by a pledge, importing to bind the person taking the same to renounce allegiance to our Lady the Queen, to make Ireland an independent republic, to take up arms and fight at a moment's warning and to yield implicit obedience to the commands of his superiors.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Mannus O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Halligan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary* otherwise called *John Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown unlawfully to be trained and drilled, and to train and drill divers other persons, to the use of arms and to the practice of military movements, exercises and evolutions in order to fight with the troops of our Lady the Queen, and to depose her from her power and authority in Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards to wit on the First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Mannus O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Halligan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary* otherwise called *John Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to procure provide and have divers large quantities of arms, to wit guns, muskets, pistols, swords, pikes, pike-handles and pike-heads, and divers large quantities of ammunition, to wit gunpowder, leaden bullets, and slugs, with intent therewith to arm themselves, and other evil disposed persons, in order to raise, make and levy insurrection and war against our said Lady the Queen within this realm.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, did become and were members of an unlawful association called and known as the *Fenian Brotherhood*, having for its avowed and declared object the establishment of a Republic in Ireland, and the defeat and overthrow of the authority and power of Her Majesty the Queen in Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination,

imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, did become members of an unlawful association, each of whom was required on becoming a member thereof, by the rules thereof, to take an oath, importing to bind the person taking the same, to make Ireland an independent Republic, to take up arms and fight at a moment's warning, and to yield implicit obedience to the commands of his superiors.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit, on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, well knowing that an association existed in America called and known as the *Fenian Brotherhood*, having for its object the overthrow of Her Majesty's power and authority in Ireland, and the establishment of a Republic in Ireland, did feloniously and wickedly, by divers writings, printings, and publications endeavour to aid and assist said association in its said object, and to advance and make known in this country the said object of said association, and to have it believed by the people of Ireland that an invasion would soon be made on Ireland by said association, with the intent that said writings, printings, and publications should incite the people of Ireland to join said association, and be ready to aid and assist in said invasion, and to enter into and continue in war and rebellion against Her Majesty the Queen.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and at divers other times subsequent thereto, having procured divers resolutions and proceedings of a certain Society called the *Fenian Brotherhood* in the United States of America, the object and design of which was to assist in an armed insurrection and rebellion against our said Lady the Queen within this realm, and to levy war against our said Lady the Queen, feloniously and wickedly did publish and make known the same in Ireland by means of a certain newspaper called the *Irish People*, with intent, and in order thereby to encourage and assist the organisation of the said Society, and to further and aid in the said object and design thereof, and with intent to stir up and induce the subjects of our said Lady the Queen, and to prepare them to rise in rebellion and levy war against her in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did consent and conspire that *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, and Charles Joseph Kickham*, should act and assume to act, under the name and title of "a Committee of Organisation or Executive," as the officers and representatives in Ireland of a certain association called the *Fenian Brotherhood*, having for its object the overthrow of the Queen's authority in Ireland and the establishment of a Republic in Ireland, with the intent and design of thereby achieving, aiding and abetting the said felonious intent and object of said association, called the *Fenian Brotherhood*.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did act as the

officers of a certain association called the *Feinian Brotherhood*, having for its object the overthrow of the authority of the Queen and the establishment of a Republic in Ireland, with the intent of aiding and abetting said association in the said felonious and treasonable object.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did enter into a treasonable conspiracy with each other and with divers other evil disposed persons, and were members of an association called the *Feinian Brotherhood* having for its object the overthrow of the Queen's power and authority and the establishment of a Republic in Ireland; and as such members did establish and maintain a felonious and treasonable correspondence in writing with members of said association in America and in Ireland, and did collect and receive money, and did distribute sums of money, and did make divers journeys, and give orders and directions to divers persons, and did mutually aid and assist each the other, with the object and intent of advancing and effecting the said felonious object of said association called the *Feinian Brotherhood*.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did procure and circulate certain pamphlets treating on military affairs, and did seek to establish training schools, and instructions in military training and drilling, and did procure and circulate certain drill-books, and did make and procure certain pikes and weapons, and did distribute same through different places in Ireland, with the object and intent of preparing certain other evil disposed persons in Ireland to rise up and be in arms against her Majesty in Ireland, and deprive her of her power and authority in Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did publish a certain public newspaper called *The Irish People*, with the object, intention, and design of creating and exciting, through and by means of said public newspaper, discontent and disaffection amongst Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland, and of causing said subjects to take up arms and rebel against Her Majesty the Queen.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, well knowing that a certain association existed in America called the *Feinian Brotherhood*, the members of which openly avowed and declared that the object of said association was the invasion of Ireland with an armed force and the overthrow of Her Majesty's power and dominion, and the establishment of a Republic in Ireland, and well knowing that one *John O'Mahony* was a leading member of said association, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, feloniously and wickedly did conspire and agree with each other with the said *John O'Mahony*, with one *Charles Underwood O'Connell*, with *James Stephens*, and with divers other persons to the jurors aforesaid unknown, to forward, aid, and advance the object of said association by divers writings, printings, and publications published in a certain public newspaper in this country called *The Irish People*, and by reporting on divers days and times in said paper the advance and progress of said association of the *Feinian Brotherhood*, with the intent and design of inducing Her Majesty's subjects in this country to aid and abet said association in the invasion

invasion of this country and the overthrow of Her Majesty's power and authority therein, and causing them to rise up (in arms) and rebel against Her Majesty.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on said first day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other and with *James Stephens, John O'Mahony, Charles Underwood O'Connell* and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to incite and urge the subjects of Her Majesty in Ireland to join and become members of a certain association called the *Fenian Brotherhood*, having for its aim and object the overthrow and defeat of Her Majesty's power in Ireland, and the establishment of a Republic in Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the first day of January, in the year aforesaid, did feloniously and wickedly combine, conspire, confederate, and agree with each other and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis, Braboy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Mannus O'Keeffe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Hayburne, John O'Clabiney, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Heltigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Donohue Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *James Murphy, James O'Connor, Patrick Power*, and with divers other persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to assist, promote, contribute, and receive contributions for a certain fair at Chicago in America, and which said fair was designated, called, and known by the name of "The Chicago Fair," the profits and gains to be derived from which said fair were to be devoted to and used for the purpose of promoting, advancing, assisting and cherishing a certain Society and organization existing in Ireland, the object, purpose, design, and intention of which said Society and organization was to establish an Irish Republic, and to overthrow the authority and dominion in Ireland of our said Lady the Queen.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the twenty-eighth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain number of a certain public Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain printing, which is as follows, that is to say—

'82 AND '29.

Since the 12th century, England has been the unsleeping enemy of Ireland.

Generally her tyranny has shown itself, in the form of unadvised oppression.

Sometimes, however, she has affected to conciliate and make great concessions to Ireland.

Whenever this has been the case, the apparent concession has invariably had the effect of extending her unjust authority. England's open and avowed hostility has never proved so effectual a method of rivetting on Ireland the fetters of alien rule, as her occasional insidious adoption of the fatal seeming of friendship.

There have been two very remarkable illustrations of this within the last hundred years. The first was the acknowledgment of the independence of the Irish Parliament in 1783; the second was the concession of Catholic Emancipation in 1829.

These concessions have generally been looked upon as unalloyed benefits. Yet we assert that, owing to the manner in which they were gained, they have really proved curses, rather than blessings, to our country.

In '83, Ireland was on the point of achieving a glorious revolution. Had England not conceded at once, an appeal to arms would have been made by the Irish people, whose military might and enthusiasm, at that moment, were well nigh irresistible; while, on the other hand, the martial ardour and available resources of England had sunk to a low ebb. That, in the event of a war-struggle, Ireland would have triumphed, no one can reasonably doubt. But victory in the field would have made her achievement of independence real and complete, not an abortive sham. It would have precipitated separation.

It would have glorified the Irish people. And, doing so, it would have enabled the Catholics, with arms in their hands, to assert their right to religious liberty, and the whole democracy to demand that to win that preponderance of political power, to which they were entitled. Finally, it would have given Ireland an army and a navy, in a word, all the appliances and securities of real independence.

But no war-struggle took place. England struck at once, and conceded. Thus the parliamentary independence of '82 was won, if not altogether ingloriously, at least peacefully, and the consequence was, it turned out, not independence, but a mockery and phantom! True national independence never was and never will be anywhere achieved, save by the sword. The revolution of '82 was, after all, a plausible, solemn, deluding humbug—a clever manoeuvre of the English Government to transform a national movement of glorious promise into a mere imposing piece of pageantry. Accordingly, while a few orators distinguished themselves, the people at large were not enabled by sacrifices and heroic deaths. No permanent and potent military and naval organisation, trained and tested by actual service, or really adequate to the task of guarding Ireland's independence, arose. The volunteer organisation, as might be expected, dwindled and finally fell to pieces. GRATTAN, charmed with English concession, ceased about loyalty, and resisted FLOOD's more daring tendencies towards separation. The people having done nothing so grand as to make their claims irresistible—GRATTAN could dare despise democracy and the reform convention; and FLOOD, though championing popular reform, leaning even towards separation, could inconsistently spare at the idea of allowing the Catholics to be anything save hewers of wood and drawers of water. Had the people been enabled by a war of independence, these things could not have been so.

England's concession, then, was a master-stroke of policy. The whole system that resulted from the arrangement of '82 was anomalous and absurd, and could by no possibility endure. According to the theory of '82, here were two countries with perfectly independent legislatures; yet united by that absurdity—"the golden link of the Crown;" both legislatures, mark, having the power to impeach the king's ministers. Thus, the king's Irish ministers might, in obedience to the pressure of the Irish legislature, have felt it necessary to advise him to declare war, as king of Ireland, against any given country; while, at the same time, his English ministers might have advised him, as king of England, to remain at peace, the interests of England, in the supposed case, requiring, and the feelings of the English legislature being, in favour of peace. What chattering "confusion worse confounded" should, in such an event, have arisen. In fact, considering the principle of ministerial responsibility under the '82 régime, circumstances might even have arisen in which GEORGE III., as king of Ireland, would have been called on to declare war against himself, as king of England. Such a system could not last. The absurdity of "the golden link" theory was, in effect, tested three times between '82 and 1800. The Act of Union was the natural result of '82. Ireland lost her golden opportunity the day on which English concession prevented her achievement of real independence by war.

The second instance to which we referred, as illustrative of the insidious nature of England's concessions to Ireland, was the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. We maintain that the chief effect of this belated concession has been to retard the winning of our independence and to denationalise thousands of our countrymen.

If the English Government had not conceded Emancipation quietly, the Irish Catholics would, at length, have taken up arms to fight for their religious liberties. The liberal Protestants would have joined them; and the struggle would have finally expanded into the grand proportions of a war of independence, Ireland would probably now be a country rejoicing in the blessings of independence, rich in the memories of a heroic national struggle, strong with the dignity, self-respect and energy, which result from success in such a struggle—instead of being to-day a hy-word and a mockery among the nations, she might be, in very deed, the freest, the most prosperous, the most glorious island of the sea!

But Emancipation was gained otherwise. England, insidiously and fatally for Ireland, conceded it ere a blow was struck.

There were two features, we may assert, in Emancipation, which rendered its achievement detrimental to the prospects of Ireland.

The first was its being gained peacefully. This circumstance deprived it of all ennobling associations of sacrifice and heroism. All the memories connected with Emancipation are of a common-place or ignoble character, wholly unfitted to exalt the national mind.

The other bad feature in Emancipation, upon which we shall now touch, was the fact of its being gained separately from national independence. Being won peacefully, this was a matter of course.

Emancipation was a measure calculated, almost exclusively, to benefit the upper and middle classes of the Catholics. While it left the general population more miserable than it found them, its achievement and the subsequent corporation reforms opened up the paths of professional and Parliamentary distinction to the wealthy and educated Catholics, in short completely satisfied their ambition. This was a serious blow to the national hopes of Ireland. Those intelligent and educated Catholics, who ought to form the leaders, guides, champions, and rallying points of the people in any struggle for social and national regeneration, are separated from them ever since. Having gained their own point, having secured their own interests, gratified their own sordid ambition—they take no further

part

part in struggles for country or countrymen. It is, in short, always an insidious and fatal boon, when the claims of, what are styled, the upper classes of a community are conceded separately from the rights of the people at large. The class gratified is thereby bought over from the struggle for the general weal. Thus Emancipation in Ireland, separated from the cause of independence, has turned out to be simply a means, in the hands of the foreign Government of England, of bribing and corrupting wealthy or educated Catholics, of seducing them from the national ranks.

These pernicious results of Emancipation would not be compensated by the fact of its having given us Catholic judges and magistrates, to try the people, even if this last circumstance produced a fairer administration of justice, or, in other words, gave fairer play to the Catholic on trial, than he had before the year '29. But still less does the possession by Catholics of the seats of justice compensate for the demoralising results of Emancipation, when we know, that, as long as Ireland's present connexion with England holds, and as long as our present aristocratic system lasts, whenever a Catholic peasant or patriot is arraigned before him, on political or agrarian charges, the Catholic judge will prove as supple and iniquitous a tool of tyranny, as the most bigoted Orange partisan could be.

Truly it can afford slender consolation to the Catholic victim of landlordism to know that the special commissioner, who sentences him so oppressively to be hanged, is of the same creed as himself.

But there is one point, above all, which we should remember in estimating the effects of the Relief Act of 1829. It is this: while it never did a particle of good to the masses of the people, to-day more oppressed than ever, it has had the specious appearance of removing a grievance and an ignominy, and so has taken away one healthy element of wrath against British rule from the minds of the people, who unfortunately are, in most cases, more influenced by shows than by realities.

In a word, we do not hesitate to say that Emancipation has done more harm than good. To benefit Ireland, it should never have been separated from the national cause. If and Ireland's independence should have sunk or swam together; and it should have been won by the sword!

Finally—if, on the one hand, Emancipation has deprived the Irish people of those from whom, considering their talents and acquirements, they might justly claim help and guidance in a struggle for independence; on the other hand, let us guard against exaggerating the importance of the loss. The commercial classes would, in any case, be liable to corrupting influences. In all countries, in times of perilous crisis, they have too often been found wanting in public virtue. The extinction of patriotism in the professional classes, however, is a more serious loss. Yet, even this is far from being ruinous. The most hasty glance will perceive, that there are good men (more than enough, thank Heaven) to fill up these gaps in the host of patriotism. There are this moment, in Ireland, thousands of brave and intelligent young men, with life before them and still undehased by the sordid worldliness which here, even more than in other lands, besets the successful man. These young men, with thoughts freshened and souls alive with faith and eager patriotism, have all the essential qualities which fit men to form the rallying-points of a people in the hour of danger. Such were the men who officered the revolutionary armies of France, and, by their giant energy, overthrew the outworn fabrics of old European society. Young men, not equal to those whom we have yet available in Ireland, have led, in the present American war, with valour and devotion never surpassed, through battles terrible beyond all precedent, the companies and regiments of the Federal armies. In spite, then, of any and all untoward issues of the past, our confidence in the national cause should remain rooted and strong. Let the people only strive, with might and main, to develop and rouse to vigorous life all the intelligence, energy, and virtue they have amongst themselves; let them do this, and they will soon find substitutes, within their own ranks, for the corrupt and craven classes that have abandoned the cause of their country. To this end, we say, let the people toil day and night. This is what is chiefly requisite, in order to make Ireland an independent nation!

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *Jabu O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the fifth day of December, in the year last aforesaid, farther feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing which is as follows, that is to say—

ADDRESS OF THE CHICAGO CONGRESS

TO THE PEOPLE IN IRELAND.

ADDRESS of the Centres and Delegates of the Fenian Brotherhood in America, assembled in Convention in the City of Chicago, to their Fellow-countrymen in Ireland.

BROTHERS.—We deem it prudent to withhold for the present from publication in the newspapers certain important Resolutions having special reference to the Revolutionary elements

element in Ireland, which have been submitted to this Convention by the Head Centre of the Fenian Brotherhood in America, and unanimously adopted. Printed copies of these resolutions will be placed before the different circles of our organization in this country, and will also be transmitted at the earliest fitting opportunity to our friends at home. In the meantime, we do not wish to separate without addressing to you a few guarded words—such as we can afford to have read by all whom it may concern—regarding the present aspect of our cause.

We are solemnly pledged to labour earnestly and continuously for the regeneration of our beloved Ireland. That pledge, with the blessing of Providence, we shall redeem; and when the wished-for hour will have arrived, we shall be prepared with you to meet the implacable persecutors of our race in battle array; to put an end for ever to the accursed system under which our unhappy people have suffered such cruel tortures, or die like men in the attempt. And in what holier cause has man ever died? How much Irish blood has fallen upon the battle fields of the world? Alas! how much Irish blood has been shed in the service of our country's oppressor? Over this subject, and others connected with it, we have pondered long and bitterly. But our resolve is fixed and irrevocable, the foul stigma which attaches to our name must be wiped out.

We do not ask, will you be ready? We know you are ready. Nine-tenths of the Irish people have been at all times ready, in heart and will, to dispute with armed hand the invader's right to enslave or exterminate them. But this is not enough. We must be "skilled to do" as well as "ready to dare." We are thoroughly convinced of the utter futility of legal and constitutional agitations, parliamentary "policies," and all similar delusions. These things have brought more suffering upon our people than would be caused by the most protracted and devastating war. The best of them would but expose the ardent and the brave to the vengeance of local despots, and be it remembered that such sacrifices beget no noble aspirations.

No enslaved people ever regained their independence, or became formidable to their enslaver without "illegal" (in the enslaver's sense) pre-organization. Poland had its illegal (in the Russian sense) organization long before these glorious "legions of despair" unfurled the flag of revolution. Had Italy no illegal (in the Austrian sense) organization, the sword of MacMahon had never flashed in victory on the field of Magenta. Had not the American colonies of England their trained militia, the "trampled provinces" could not have sprung into a "free and glorious republic." Hungary was pre-organized. But why multiply instances? This lesson which history teaches to struggling nationalities, and illustrates by many a bright and many a dark example, is, that pre-organization is essential to success. With it there may be defeat and glory. Without it there may be defeat and shame. Some politicians seem to think anything approaching to a military organization impossible in Ireland. But its possibility and feasibility, when guided by courage, prudence, devotion, and ability, have been proved to our satisfaction; and this fact is the very foundation of our conviction that the day of our deliverance is at hand. We say our deliverance, for the privileges of living among a free people, and of sharing the blessings of free institutions, but make us feel the more keenly the sufferings and degradation of our own land. But our hearts swell with hope and exultation when we think of the living fire that burns within her shores, defying the combined efforts of open foe and false friend to extinguish it. No matter how powerful and devoted her griled children might be, we should tremble for the issue if there were no true men left in Ireland, no worthy descendants and disciples of the heroes of '98. We do not wonder at the enemy's persistent endeavours to emasculate or hamper you.

Americans already admit that the non-recognition of the Revolted States by England is due to the attitude which the Irish people have assumed, both at home and in this republic. If the Irish people at home and abroad were united in a band of brotherhood for the salvation of their own country, would the United States hesitate for an hour to strike a blow which would be followed by two inevitable results—peace in America and liberty in Ireland?

A deep responsibility rests upon Irishmen in the present generation. The fate of their country trembles in the balance. Emigration is doing its exhausting work. Other influences are leagued with the oppressor to quench the spirit which has triumphed over the dungeon and the scaffold, and which even famine could not kill. Let us filter now, and Ireland's doom is sealed; a grand old nation—grand even in her chains—is blotted from the map of the world. But there shall be no faltering, no cowardice. Our country cries to us for aid, and points to the grave which the foe has dug for her. Armed legions shall interpose between her and that grave.

Here we have soldiers armed and trained (thousands of them trained in the tented field and amid the smoke and thunders of battle), with able and experienced generals to lead them. Let the cities and towns and parishes of Ireland have their brigades, regiments, battalions, and companies of partially disciplined soldiers of liberty silently enrolled. Above all things, let every man be pledged to obey the commands of his superiors; and pledged also never to move without such command, for obedience to command is the first and most important requisite of the perfect soldier; all the rest is secondary. Thus you will not only be prepared to strike with effect, but all rash attempts at insurrection will be prevented. Without such an organization as we contemplate, partial uprisings of the people will be sure to occur, leaving no results but the sacrifice of brave men, and, perhaps, the ruin of our cause. When we strike, let us strike home. And are there not strong arms within the enemy's own shores to second the blow? Circumstances are in our favour,

each

such as Providence never before vouchsafed to an enslaved people. We have but to act as becomes brave and reasoning men, and ours shall be the pride and glory of lifting our sorrowing Erin of the Streams to her place among the nations.

Brothers, rely upon us. We rely upon you.

Chairman, John Gibbons, Philadelphia.

John O'Mahony,

President and Head Centre of the Fenian
Brotherhood of America.

Vice President, Richard Doherty, Indiana,
Daniel Grady, Dis. of Columbia,
David Calowdy, Wisconsin.

Secretaries, Henry O'C. Mc Carthy, Illinois,
John A. Stuart, Indiana.

—New York Sunday Mercury.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterward, to wit on the Nineteenth day of December, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

Meanwhile, fellow-countrymen, you will have nothing to do with these by-issues or false regeneration schemes of dreamers and mock-patriots. You will not thus waste your time and energy. We believe you have at length found the true path in which to go. You will, then, prepare to regain your lost independence, which, we are never tired of repeating, can be won but by one method. This method sometimes fails to achieve independence, but no other method ever succeeds in winning it. Let anyone, who can do so, point to a single instance in history of a subject nation throwing off a foreign yoke any way save by the sword. No one can do so. Let us each and all put trust in the might, the majesty, and the glory of the people, and the revival of true national aspiration and action in our country shall, ere long, be manifest to the world!

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the second day of January, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-four, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

Is it not owing to these false teachers, who thus delude the people into entertaining the pernicious notion that constant preparation is unnecessary, that in our own time, we have seen so many opportunities, favourable to the achievement of our independence, slip past unperceived by? During the early stages of the Crimean war the country was stripped of troops; but an unprepared people could effect nothing. The opportunity came in vain. The first startling tidings of the Indian mutiny summoned most of the soldiers garrisoning Ireland to the defence of the Indian Empire. The barracks throughout Ireland are, for a brief space, well nigh empty. But the opportunity comes and goes, leaving the unprepared Irish people just as it found them. When the crisis was over, people began to wake up and find that they had let a first-rate chance slip through their fingers. The nation might then stand with mouth agape, like King O'Toole looking after his frown away goes. Nations that never relax preparations for the overthrow of their tyrants, are always able to seize on favourable opportunities.

However, we believe finally, that Ireland has at last learned this, along with other essential truths—that self-reliance and never-ceasing preparation are, above all things, indispensable to a subject nation, if she should once conceive the glorious idea of attempting to rise from under the yoke of her oppressor!

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the Sixteenth day of January, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

That the death of GENERAL CORCORAN should have been mourned as a great calamity by our countrymen in America, is what every newspaper reader was prepared to learn. That the *élite* of the American people should pay all fitting respect to the memory of one whom they so much honoured in life was to be expected. But many appear to have been unprepared for the evidences of deep grief with which the news of the noble soldier's death was received in Ireland. He possessed none of those dazzling gifts which usually attract the crowd. He never sought to shine either as an orator or a writer. Indeed, his name scarcely ever appeared in a newspaper until his refusal to parade his regiment in honour of the bear apparent of the English crown brought him prominently before the public. But long before that event, thinking men looked to MICHAEL CORCORAN as one destined to take a leading part in the liberation of his native land. He was among the first to recognise the necessity of a military organisation of our race. He saw that without such an organization opportunities would come in vain, and, like a true practical patriot, he at once set to work to hand his countrymen together, and to train them in the use of arms. Up to the hour of his death the Fenian Brotherhood had in him an earnest and waiting worker. It was to him the directorship of the Brotherhood was intrusted during JOHN O'MAHONY'S absence in Europe a few years ago. We little thought, two short weeks ago, when publishing the following, which brought our noble friend so vividly to our recollection, that even then he slept the sleep that knows no waking:—

"I have called with O'M— upon General Corcoran, who fortunately happens to be in New York. Now, here is a man. Have we duly appreciated the full meaning of his refusal to parade his regiment in honour of the son of the Queen of England? Taking all the circumstances into account, it was an act of heroic courage and self-sacrifice. Then an ovation was given him on his return after his long imprisonment from Richmond, the like of which was hardly ever witnessed in America before; but it did not turn his head in the least. When municipal representatives, and representatives of every sort thronged round him with addresses—while banners waved, and warlike music, and the louder music of a hundred thousand throats rent the clouds—he turned to a friend near him, and calmly said—'This is not for me; this is America on her knees to Ireland.' I was greatly struck with the unassuming modesty of his manner. And how loving-anxious were his inquiries about what was doing 'at home in Ireland'—to use his own expression! General Corcoran is the right man in the right place. His devotion to the cause of the Republic was put to a severe test during his imprisonment; but General Corcoran is not a man to be shaken by trifles. His loyalty to the land of his adoption, and the older and holier allegiance to the land of his birth, are entwined together, and strengthen and vivify each other. Happily they are never likely to be torn asunder. General Corcoran intends applying for an extension of his leave of absence in order to attend the Convention of the Fenian Brotherhood in Chicago on the 3rd of November."

It was the opinion of men of judgment that General Corcoran was fully equal to the command of a division. In fact, it would be hard to say what military position he was not equal to. He was never found wanting. In every position in which he was placed he was always the right man for it; and in every phase of his fortunes Ireland was his polar star. He laid all his laurels at the feet of his uncrowned queen. Alas! that it was not reserved for him to strike a soldier's blow for her—that he should go to his grave this darling hope of his life unfulfilled! An account of the manner of his death, with some incidents of his life, and the details of his funeral, will be found elsewhere in our columns. There is a gap in our ranks which it will not be easy to fill up. Yet how know we but that there are hundreds capable of following in his footsteps? The career of this man, sprung from the ranks of the people, and of the people, should be a bright encouragement to us. How ridiculous it would have appeared some 15 years ago to prophesy that the raw Irish youth, with only as much education as the village school was able to afford him, was destined to command a legion in the field! Here is a glorious example for the manhood of Ireland! But let it be borne in mind that Michael Corcoran did not become a General at a bound. He did not try to be a leader before he was fit to lead. He did his duty as an humble private, and rose slowly, step by step, always studying to improve himself—always sober, honourable, humble, and virtuous. It was not by swagger he made his way upwards. He was an enthusiast, it is true, but his enthusiasm was of the right stamp. It was the enthusiasm of the patient, silent worker. His was not the enthusiasm that finds vent in curses. Michael Corcoran was a worker, and we want the young men of Ireland to be workers. Let them remember that no man is a ready-made General. The true man is the man who does his duty in whatever position he may be placed; and the best men often rise from the ranks.

The loss of General Corcoran has struck a pang to the heart of Ireland. This is a proof that Ireland lives. It lightened our grief to learn that strong men wept bitter tears for him; for it strengthened our conviction that the young men of Ireland had learned to distinguish real worth from empty pretension.

General Corcoran has not lived in vain. And with the blessing of a just and merciful Providence the gallant soldiers he so often led will one day add in raising a trophy to his memory under the blue skies of liberated Ireland.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kichham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor,* and

and *Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Sixteenth day of January, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing the said last-mentioned number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

The no-drop-of blood doctrine—which well nigh converted a nation of men into a nation of helots—was promulgated in order to convert bishops and priests into agitators. Strange to say, it was reserved for the bishops and priests to sweep the last vestige of the abomination from the face of the land. The temporal authority of the Pope was encroached upon, and the Holy Father wanted men and money. He wanted soldiers to fight—that's what he wanted. We wonder had His Holiness any notion of what a precious thing a drop of blood was in Ireland. Well, our bishops and priests, forgetting (when it suited them) the pricelessness of the commodity, actually appealed to the young men of Ireland to gird up their loins, and leaving fathers and mothers, and country and friends, to go forth to the battle-field and pour out their drops of blood under a foreign sky, and leave their bones to bleach far away from poor old Ireland, where to fight would be a sin and a shame. For the Pope said there was no use "reasoning with a robber;" which, indeed, is very true. The bishops even insisted, greatly to the disgust of pious and wealthy English Catholics, who would do anything for the Church short of endangering their precious lives, that the *green flag should be unfurled*. Ah! your Grace, how could you? Did you not know that not one among our Irish soldiers could look upon that flag without cursing in his heart the blessed "British Constitution," of which your Grace and your Lordships are such admirers? Did you not know that the Irish soldier, when he fixed his gaze upon that trampled banner, would pray to the good God to spare him—oh! to spare—now that he is a soldier.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor*, and *Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Thirteenth day of February, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—"The Approaching Crisis," and also the printed words following, that is to say—

But the overthrow of the British Empire—that would be grand indeed! The day Irishmen humble the haughty cross of England, they chain the glory of Ireland for ever to the Stars; they strike a blow that resounds through eternity. On that day, prayers of gratitude and blessings shall mount to heaven from trampled regions in every corner of the globe, and Irishmen shall be hailed by the world, not merely as the deliverers of the sacred Isle, but as the redeemers of enthralled mankind!

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor*, and *Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twenty-third day of January, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

Twenty years ago Thomas Davis appealed to the aristocracy to save the people with their own hands. We make no appeal to the aristocracy. For we know that though we spoke with the tongues of men and of angels, our appeal would be in vain. The hearts of these cruel aristocrats are hard as the nether mill-stone. They are the willing tools of the alien government, whose policy it is to slay the people or drive them like anxious vermin from the land. The people must save themselves.

And in which said last-mentioned printing, in another part thereof, there were and are further the printed words following, that is to say—

Perhaps the first blow struck the people may even find leaders among the "lites of property;" but until that blow is struck the "lites of property," so far from leading, will be an obstacle in the people's way, an obstacle which no false delicacy must prevent us from trampling upon if used be. If the classes, replete "respectable," who acquiesce in the destruction of the people, or contest themselves with "protesting" against it, were swept into the sea, the chances of saving the Irish nation would be considerably increased. The people would then be left free to face with their tyrants, and no longer hood-winked by the more favoured slaves whom they have been accustomed to follow, would soon learn the secret of their own strength and turn upon the heel that crushes them.

And

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twentieth day of February, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

The next best thing to the actual possession of arms is the desire to possess them; and we know the hands of thousands of our young countrymen are itching to clutch rifle or musket—not forgetting the stout old pike, which—misdeeds and sword-bayonets notwithstanding—will, we believe, be heard of again in the world. A great deal has been written in Irish newspapers to encourage the people to procure arms. To be sure this has generally been done when there happened to be very little likelihood that the arms would be wanted for use—at least for a long time. And these practical articles, concerning target practice and the broadsword exercise, we have noticed to be “conspicuous for their absence” in the columns of our popular journals of late. Unfortunately, the men who would be most ready and willing to purchase rifles are those who cannot afford to purchase them. It is very discouraging, too, we must admit, to those who can afford to purchase them, that their districts either are proclaimed or may be proclaimed at any moment; and the alternative of giving up their arms, or running the risk of two years’ imprisonment, is not a pleasant one. At present, however, it is not our intention to offer any opinion as to whether it is or is not the duty of all who can afford it to provide themselves with serviceable weapons of some sort. Upon this point let each man judge for himself and act accordingly. But we unhesitatingly assert that it is the bounden duty of every Irishman to know at least how to load and discharge a fowling-piece. We blush to be obliged to acknowledge that there are thousands of good men in Ireland who could not hit a haystack, with rifle, musket, or carbine. This is a disgraceful fact. Yet it could be easily remedied—quietly and without attracting notice. The humblest man can find some one who will show him how to hold a gun firmly to his shoulder and look along the barrel to take aim, to put the hammer at half and full cock, and let it down carefully on the pillar; to put on the cap, ram home the charge, &c. There is no reason for assembling in crowds to learn this much. A farmer’s son could teach so much to the workmen while frightening the crows from the corn-field. And there are few young men in towns who cannot visit some country acquaintance, who happens to have a gun, on a Sunday or holiday, with a few pence worth of ammunition in his pocket. Much good might come of this in more ways than one. We know perfectly well that Irishmen can be made good soldiers by a comparatively short course of drill. Nevertheless a little knowledge, acquired beforehand, may prove useful. Every intelligent man can see this. We call upon our countrymen then to learn as much as they can of the use of arms. And let us never lose sight of the fact—that a disarmed people are slaves.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the Nineteenth day of March, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

THE CHICAGO FAIR—DENUNCIATION.

We have to-day to discharge the very pleasant duty of returning our sincere thanks to the many friends of Ireland, who have contributed to the Chicago Fair. We made no secret of the object which our countrymen in America had in view. We stated distinctly that the proceeds of this national undertaking were not intended to be sent to Ireland in the shape of alms for the destitute. We did not state precisely to what use the money would be turned, because we wished to keep clear of the Treason-Felony Act; but we were sufficiently explicit to be understood. Therefore, the hearty response to our appeal is a cheering evidence that the men and women of Ireland appreciate the labours of the Fenian Brotherhood, and are ready and willing to strive for the liberty of this down-trodden country, in the only way in which there is the slightest use in striving for it.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the Nineteenth day of March, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing

publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

When men are the champions of Freedom and a'erstop not the charter to chastise which she bestows, they act as obnoxious heroes have ever acted, and are instruments in the hand of God to take revenge on tyrants. Had Irishmen the power they would not stoop so low as personal revenge. They have no hatred for the great bulk of the English people taken individually; but taken in its corporate capacity England has butchered, ruined, and plundered the Irish people, and if—in rescuing our own lives, and liberties, and lands from its clutches—the blood of England's hirelings must be shed, and if the shedding is for such an end be to many sweet as vengeance, there is nothing unchristian in the act.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit, on the seventh day of April, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

But in one of the cases to which we have alluded, something more even than a successful insurrection is demanded. And what is that? *A complete revolution which will restore the country to its rightful owners.* And who are these? **THE PEOPLE.**

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit, on the Fourteenth day of May, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing which is as follows, that is to say—

The "Fenian Brotherhood" is rapidly organizing in all the principal cities of the United States. The success of the Chicago Fair has greatly accelerated the influence of this organization, which is devoted solely to the overthrow of English power in Ireland.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twenty-eighth day of May, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

If the Irish people at home looked, or seemed to look, to legal and constitutional agitators for guidance, the Fenian Brotherhood in America would give up Ireland in despair. Therefore, legal and constitutional agitators can not be tolerated by earnest men. Fools and knaves—and perhaps some few well-meaning but weak men—may flock round them; but we can assure our exiled countrymen that the heart of Ireland revolts against the worn-out humbug of legal and constitutional agitation. We should treat the silly farce with contemptuous silence if we did not fear that our friends over the water might possibly misunderstand us. To make a long story short, the Irish people cannot afford to permit those platform patriots to destroy the only chance left us of saving the Irish nation from extinction.

In reference to a French invasion, all we need say is, that if **WOLFE TONE** had not left an organization of the right sort behind him, a French fleet would never have sailed for our shores. Not only is organization necessary to ensure us a fair chance of success in the event of a friendly force coming to our assistance—but *no such friendly force will come if we are not organized.*

Preparation is Ireland's only hope. The man who endeavours to obstruct the work of preparation, however good his intentions may be, is, in reality, Ireland's enemy. The man who will do nothing directly or indirectly to help that work can hardly be called her friend. Ireland's real friends are those who know their duty—and do it. That duty is comprised in one word—**Preparation.**

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and*

Michael

Michael Moore, did afterwards, to wit on the Second day of July, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

He would be ignorant to a degree of intellectual darkness of which we are able to form no conception, or innocent to obsolete fatuity, who would expect men like these to have either the honesty or the manliness to go to the root of the evil, and tell the "territorial magnates" of the British Empire, that they are the grand obstacles in the path of Irish prosperity, and that never till they and the accursed land-laws, which in their own interest they have enacted, are swept clean away, and the land restored to its rightful proprietors, the Irish people, will there be an end of those horrors which have astonished the nations?

And in which said last-mentioned printing, in another part thereof, there were, and are further the printed words following, that is to say—

The voice of the people must speak to them, if necessary, by the ring of the rifle and the roar of the cannon; for, if the deaf addres will not unstop their ears to listen to the voices of those who would clear them into offensiveness, there is but one other course open to those whom they have so dangerously stung, and that is, to drive them away and destroy them.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary*, *Thomas Clarke Luby*, *Charles Joseph Kickham*, *George Hopper*, *Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa*, *James O'Connor*, and *Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Eighteenth day of June, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

The overthrow of tyranny has always been the work of the people. It is by their combined and determined efforts that rulers are made and unmade. America and France have furnished us with glorious examples of this. But in the streets of Paris, and upon the rich soil of America, blood was shed before freedom came; and so must it be in Ireland. To win for ourselves an independence, to raise Ireland to her proper rank amongst the nations, we must not, when the time comes, be chary of our own or the enemy's blood.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary*, *Thomas Clarke Luby*, *Charles Joseph Kickham*, *George Hopper*, *Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa*, *James O'Connor*, and *Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Nineteenth day of November, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

By force of arms Ireland was wrested from her rightful owners, the Irish people. By no other means will she ever be restored. And is she not "a land worth fighting for"?

The sentence is an admirable one. It indicates at once the means and the end, the only means that can ever prove effectual, the only end that is worth the work.

These means are simply the rifle and the sword and the cannon in the hands of those who know how to use them. And it is generally admitted that our countrymen have proved themselves on a thousand battle-fields, not less proficient at that sort of work than their neighbours.

Every man has one simple object to accomplish. It is to rid the land of robbers, and to render every cultivator of the soil his own landlord, the proprietor, in fee-simple, of the house and land of his father, which will be an inheritance worth a freeman's while to bequeath to his children, and worth those children's while to enjoy in a nation which bows to no power under heaven!

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary*, *Thomas Clarke Luby*, *Charles Joseph Kickham*, *George Hopper*, *Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa*, *James O'Connor*, and *Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Seventeenth day of September, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

niously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

OUR YEAR.

We have just completed one year of our existence to-day, and we think we can at least claim the one merit of having left a strong mark upon the popular mind. We were not ushered into the world by any preliminary trumpet-flourish of prospectus or advertisement: we entered calmly upon the public stage, and we feel we tread it firmly now.

The *IRISH PEOPLE* was not set up from any exaggerated notions of what newspapers could do. Our experience of what they could not do was of the saddest kind, and we were far from desiring to imitate our predecessors, either in their positive or negative policy. We did not want to write as they did, but above all we knew it was imperatively necessary, that while we wrote others should act; or that otherwise we might write till we grew grey without working much good for Ireland.

It is no boast, but simply the plain truth, to say that no paper has lived so long, and at the same time kept so steadily before the public mind the one great end—National Independence, and the one great means—armed resistance. The old *Nation* meant perhaps the same thing, and worked out its objects with an occasional ability, to which we not lay claim, but there were essential differences which it would be tedious, and possibly not instructive, to point out here. It was over-awed by the great authority of O'CONNELL, and the mind of DAVIS could never have fair play in a country which still clung tenaciously to a belief in moral force. But let us give praise where praise is due. The old *Nation* did great things in its day, and, possibly but for its teaching, we would not be here to-day to preach the old creed with larger experience, and consequently less limitations. In one part of the old *Nation's* policy—its strife with sectarianism—we could not do more than follow in its footsteps, and, by so doing, we have gained the same reward—the hatred of bigots. And here it may not be out of place to use the words of DAVIS on a similar occasion: "We look upon the Protestant's fear of the Catholic, and on the Catholic's fear of the Protestant, as rank nonsense. Their mutual dislike is something worse. And yet this trash and this crime have ruined the country." Alas, that it should be almost as necessary to write this to-day as when DAVIS wrote, and our pseudo-national papers are the main cause that this is the case.

The *United Irishman*, *Felton*, and other papers, certainly spoke plainly enough—in point of fact too plainly, but never seemed to see the necessity of acting as well as speaking.

We have long had plenty of men and papers to say and sing that Ireland ought and shall be free; but to do anything towards that end is pronounced by those destructive do-nothings high treason against common sense and the Catholic religion. We are gravely told (and the men who tell us say it is statesmanship) to sit still until the French come to free us, and in the meantime to try for Tenant Right, or the abolition of the Church Establishment, or anything you will. But, above all, we are urged to print pamphlets to be circulated abroad, and to send members to Parliament to make speeches which may be heard abroad.

We, and we alone, have steadily set our faces against all those by-issues. We hold it folly to petition Parliament, and crime to go there. We have said that the less foreign nations heard of us until we had done something the better, and that it was not noisy pamphleteering abroad we needed, but silent action at home. Let us gain freedom and we get everything, and for the attainment of that great end a hundred pikes in Ireland are worth a thousand pamphlets in France.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary*, *Thomas Clarke Luby*, *Charles Joseph Kickham*, *George Hopper*, *Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa*, *James O'Connor*, and *Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Eighteenth day of March, in the year of Our Lord One Thousand and Eight Hundred and Sixty-five, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

But the priests never will, never can, and never ought to be the leaders in an armed struggle; and nothing but an armed struggle can save Ireland. Hence, it was absolutely necessary to take political leadership out of the hands of the priests before the people could advance one step upon the right road. This is why we preach the doctrine of no priests in politics.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary*, *Thomas Clarke Luby*, *Charles Joseph Kickham*, *George Hopper*, *Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa*, *James O'Connor*, and *Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twenty-fifth day of March, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing

publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

To our mind there is but one way to obtain Tenant Right, or any right at all, and that is by making Ireland free. To do this we must fight. To make this fight successful there should be union among all classes and creeds of oppressed Irishmen, and preparation. There are amongst us hundreds of thousands of Irishmen who believe this; but are they united—are they prepared? Many, we believe, are not. We also believe there are many "advanced Nationalists," professed "fighting men," who for one reason or another will steer clear of preparation. They'll be "the first to handle a pike," and "as good as any when the time comes;" but they'll take care they'll be nothing else. If such men were honest and sincere in their professed willingness to risk their lives for the freedom of their country, they would prepare to achieve its freedom at the sacrifice of as few other lives as possible. They cannot expect that the number of men requisite for such a task will spring up spontaneously like mushrooms under the night dew. Neither can they expect, as JOE BRENNAN ironically observed of similar characters in '88, that they will get rifles from Heaven and angels to pull the triggers for them. They see that the practical endeavour to free Ireland is one of wearying toil, with perhaps a spice of danger in it too. To do nothing is the safer policy—the "prudent" one. This class of persons have always on their lips the parrot cry—"Quite, unite." Some of these have cried themselves down by it.

If "union" for the purposes of Irish Liberty means anything, it means union such as existed amongst the men of '88, and we venture to say, if any similar kind of union was proposed to these men, they would, to use a common phrase, "run fifty miles away from you."

The "United Irishmen" calculated something upon those who would be "the first to handle a pike," who, with those who were to be "as good as any when the time came," remained looking at the brave men fighting till the time had passed away.

South of Wexford little if anything was done to forward the national struggle. Had every county done as much or half as much as Wexford, we should be a free and prosperous people to-day; there would be no famine graves, nor fallen Irish on foreign lands to darken the pages of our history.

To take a lesson from the "dead past" is the duty of the "living present." We would have the people unite north, south, east, and west. Every creed and class we would have then unite and prepare, for without preparation union can avail nothing. We would have the hand of fellowship and friendship held out to every man willing to risk something for the freedom of his native land. We would say—

"Put faith in one another,"

but not in those who would only be "as good as any when the time comes;" for their Time is when you have succeeded.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Eighth day of April, in the year last aforesaid, farther feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

Let Doctor Moriarty leave that cause in the hands of the Fenian Brotherhood. They have toiled long and earnestly for its advancement. They have triumphed over difficulties which many thought insurmountable. They are on the right road—and we do not believe in two right roads to Irish independence. We trust the Fenian Brotherhood will hold no parley with agitators. And with all respect for Dr. Moriarty, we must say his project could lead to nothing but agitation. We like conciliation. All fair means should be tried to win the support of honest men, and even to secure their goodwill. But the toleration that encourages shams is fruitful of mischief.

Doctor Moriarty is evidently very popular. He has been maligned and persecuted for his love of country. This is why we fear he may be able to persuade many to adopt his petitioning project. We are sure he means well; but we are equally sure he is mistaken. The petitions of Ireland will never be listened to till her flag floats over Dublin Castle; and it is to be hoped she will have no need of petitioning then.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twentieth day of April, in the year last aforesaid, farther feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing,

lishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

Let us contrast Ireland in '48 with the Ireland of to-day. Our population now, thine! as it is by famine and exiles, is hardly more than five million strong. Yet we make bold to say, that the present diminished population of Ireland has in it the stuff to do better and braver deeds than the larger population of '48! And why? Simply because, at last the Irish intellect is widened to the comprehension of the large idea of an Irish nation united and independent. The Irishmen of to-day are resolved to win the independence of Ireland, and nothing short of that. "Ireland for the Irish," and the land for the people! This is the grand idea now. Besides, Irishmen at length clearly see the only method by which this great ideal can be realized. They know and feel that there is but one way by which subject nations can march to freedom!

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hepper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twenty-second day of April, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

PEACE IN AMERICA.

The existence of Ireland as a nation, depends upon the courage and devotedness of her sons at home and abroad. And we firmly believe that those of our race who at this hour are willing to risk life and all that makes life dear for the liberty of their country, are sufficiently strong in numbers and resources for the work. But all their energies must be bent to the one sole object—Ireland needs them all. Therefore the news of peace in America will be glad news to Ireland. Our countrymen fell in such numbers in almost every battle, we lost so many brave and experienced officers who were devoted heart and soul to our cause, it is no wonder that the Irish people should have looked with sorrow, almost with dread, to a continuance of the terrible struggle. That struggle has cost Ireland dear. But, thank Heaven, if she has lost much, she has gained much. There are left tens of thousands of experienced soldiers whom she claims as her own. And as the clouds of battle roll away, and Peace resumes her reign over the great Republic, the one thought in the heart of the Irish soldier will be "Now for old Ireland!" Had they never been called upon to fight for the flag that sheltered them, they would have felt bound to come to the rescue of their fatherland. But having fought and bled for America, they are doubly bound to pay the debt they owe to Ireland. Nobly have they vindicated the gallantry of our race; but they have yet to prove to the world that Irish soldiers are not mere mercenaries. And in this light they know they will be regarded, even by the people whose battles they have fought, so long as the land of their birth remains a hegger and a slave. Notwithstanding all they have done, the shadow of their country's slavery is upon them; and so long as that country continues to be an object of pity and contempt, so long must her sons hang their heads for shame—so long shall they be "the pariahs of society." And who will dare to say that the men who have proved their manhood on a hundred battle-fields will carry this load of disgrace to their graves? Who will say that the Irish people in America will not now work with might and main for the liberation of the land they love? They will not grudge to Ireland what they so freely gave to America. We shall welcome the tidings of peace from beyond the Atlantic, not only for the sake of the great Republic, but for the sake of our own suffering land.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hepper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Fifteenth day of July, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

We rejoice that the English hate us. We shall continue to rejoice, so long as they continue to hold our Island. We are a distinct nation, and, therefore, independence alone can make us great or happy. But this hate, which the English feel, will sting our hearts to higher aspirations, and nerve our arms to stouter efforts, day after day till the precious prize be won. Let Ireland be once free, and, for us, Ireland's hatred of the English name may die out!

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and invention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twenty-ninth day of July, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

Two great evils have again been exhibited to the eyes of a disgusted world by the late sublime farces, which, under the name of elections, have been enacted in this country. One is the exertion of the brutal power with which "territorial magnates," great and small, are invested, and by which nine hundred and fifty out of every thousand of the tenant-farmers of Ireland are compelled either to vote for the nominees of the landlords, or to become marks for persecution and destruction. The other is the prostitution of that sacred power over the consciences of the people with which ecclesiastics are clothed, in order to procure the return of those favoured candidates who will get places and pensions for "nephews" and "cousins," and promote pet projects about denominational education, while Ireland is perishing. Those evils still exist; but their day is near its close. Landlord tyranny will vanish when the land becomes the possession of the people. That will be accomplished; but never by English law. It will be accomplished—but how and when it is the business of those who desire it to find out for themselves. And when it is achieved the men who shall have won their country's independence with their victorious swords will know how to think and act on all secular subjects for themselves. The problem has been already solved in France, and it will be solved in Ireland.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Fifth day of August, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were, and are the printed words following, that is to say—

The great real crime of every Irishman, in English eyes, is that his country is so rich and fertile and beautiful as it is—that its nationality is neither dead nor lost, but only sleeps for a season—and that none of its enemies can tell the day it may awake like the slumbering volcano to scorch and scatter its vermin oppressors to the four winds of heaven. Therefore it is feared and hated and slandered. The serpent bedtimes what it intends to devour. But one thing should be remembered. Its head is not invulnerable—at least to lead and steel.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twelfth day of August, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, which is as follows, that is to say—

POPULARITY.

We do not attach any extraordinary importance to mere popularity. The man who is greeted with the loudest cheers is not always the man of most worth or ability, or even of most influence. Popularity and power are very different things. There may be popularity without political influence, and political influence without popularity.

The gift of the gab, with a good supply of what is commonly called *beaze*, will often make the happy possessor a favourite with the crowd. The mere speaker of metaphors will be received with clapping of hands and waving of handkerchiefs. Such popularity is always delusive and never lasting.

TONE was not popular, nor DAVIS. The name of the founder of the great organisation which overspread the country like a network in '98, was quite unknown to the masses. And he who infused a living soul into Ireland during the Repeal agitation might have stood unnoticed in the midst of a monster meeting in his native Munster. Yet who will compare the influence of GRATTAN or O'CONNELL—mighty tribunes though they were—even upon the men of their own time—to say nothing of our time and all time—with that of TONE or DAVIS? The spirit which GRATTAN evoked is dead and gone; but the spirit of the United Irishmen lives. The fabric raised by the great agitator has crumbled to dust; while the words of DAVIS stir men's hearts in every quarter of the globe—for our people are scattered over the wide world.

Thus

Thus we find the worker and the thinker have more real influence than the popular leader, however gifted, who relies upon the power of oratory. How infinitely superior, then, is the worker to the mere demagogue?

But there is a popularity which is built upon a solid foundation. Men sometimes win their way to the hearts of their countrymen by toil and self-sacrifice in their country's cause. The practical patriot is not always left unrewarded till success has crowned his efforts, or the grave has closed over him. As one proof of this, we may point to JOHN O'MAHONY. He has toiled hard and suffered much for Ireland; and he already has his reward in the love and trust of his countrymen. The estimation in which he is held by Irishmen, is a proof that our people are no longer the blind tools of agitators and do-nothing leaders. Scarcely one among the politicians to whom the people at one time looked for guidance has said a good word of JOHN O'MAHONY since he set to work in the right way to prepare for a real struggle for the independence of his country. He has been foully slandered, but not one of these "leaders" uttered a word in his defence. On the contrary, they are the friends and supporters of his slanderers.

These "leaders" abandoned their country in despair. They lost faith in the people. They blamed the people for the disgraceful failure which was the result of their own imprudence and inactivity. They turned to the English Parliament for "a redress of grievances," and put their faith in petitions. While professing themselves nationalists they threw every obstacle they could in the way of a true national movement. While bragging of their bravery they took to "warning" the young men of Ireland against "rashness." Is it rashness to prepare cautiously, steadily, silently, for the opportunity which even they pretend to hope for? The real rashness we opine would be not to prepare. Let them point out a single rash or imprudent act, to prove that the cause of Ireland has not been wisely directed since they gave it up for lost. They cannot do so. Yet all their movements, from the "Irish Alliance" to the "National Association" have been one series of bungling shams. As for the latter body its principal business appears to be to denounce true Irishmen as "miscreants." And the men who are doing their best to prop up this humbug seem to expect that the people will give them credit for devotion to Ireland.

The "leaders" to whom we refer were popular as long as the people believed them sincere. If they had only kept clear of "political intrigue" and let honest men alone, no word of blame or censure would ever have been uttered against them by us. Whatever we have written against them has been written either in self-defence or to prevent the people from being turned from the path of duty. They ought to be convinced by this time that the people will not follow traditional patriotism even when allied with literary capacity. Popularity in Ireland now is the reward of deeds, not words. Nevertheless, past errors need not stand in the way of any man who wishes really to serve his country. All is wanting is proof of sincerity. We have all of us something to forget and forgive for Ireland's sake. And perhaps the surest way to bring about an understanding between honest men who have been sundered, no matter by what cause, is to tell the honest truth openly and above board. The time is coming when Ireland will require the aid of every true Irishman. It will not be our fault if she does not have it.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twenty-sixth day of August, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in said last-mentioned number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "IRISH PEOPLE"

Sir,

Cleriban, Cloemal, August 7th, 1865.

I am proud to inform you and every true Irishman who feels an interest in the present patriotic movement for the liberty of our country from the iron yoke of the Saxon, that the good cause has progressed favourably in this and the surrounding localities since I last had the honour of occupying a space in your journal. Indeed, Sir, the minds of the people have undergone a wonderful change. They seem to have lost all hope in agitation, and a great number have determined on another plan to redress their wrongs, the *modus operandi* of which is the pike and gun, or some other such weapons.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the said Twelfth day of August, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing which is as follows, that is to say—

CATTLE BEFORE MEN.

If the plague, which is spreading among the cattle in England, should reach this country, it is all up with the worshippers of the beast.

This year, according to the Registrar General's return—as quoted last week, at the Cattle Show banquet in Clonmel, by his Excellency the LORD LIEUTENANT—the “herds” of which Ireland was predestined to be “the fruitful mother,” number three millions and a-half. About the same number of human beings, made unto God's likeness, were swept away to make room for these herds. The landlords tremble for their throne-homes. They call upon the Government to prohibit the importation of cattle lest the dreaded plague should be communicated to Ireland.

When the Irish people were dropping dead of hunger by the thousand, these landlords did not call upon the Government to save them. They saw the produce of our fruitful fields carried away, but they never asked that its exportation should be prohibited. They did not want to save the people. They hunted them like vermin off the face of the land. They seized upon the farmer's corn and his cattle, and drove him and his—the wife of his bosom, the children of his heart, the mother that bore him—drove them without mercy to the poorhouse and the emigrant ship. They tore down the peasant's cabin, and doomed him to a pauper's grave. They ground the people without compassion, without mercy, and squandered the fruits of the toiler's labour in luxury and vice. And in this hellish work they were aided and abetted by our foreign rulers. Ejectment laws and “quarter-acre” clauses, made the work easy. But when it was thought the Celts were “gone with a vengeance,” the landlords got an “Incumbered Estates Act” for their pains. “The name of an Irish landlord,” said the *Times*, “stinks in the nostrils of Europe.”

And now these cruel tyrants and crawling slaves whine to their masters to shut out the plague from their pastures. These scourges of our people are unable to help themselves. They are mere tools in the hands of England. They are despised while they are used; and if it suited the interests of England they would be driven from the land—even as they drove the rightful owners of it to make room for the beast that perished.

But their English masters appear to be in no hurry to prohibit the importation of cattle. In fact they refuse to do so. Perhaps they do not wish to have it said that they care more for brute beasts than for men. Or is it that they would look upon a cattle plague in Ireland as a godsend. The people are flying from the land, and, in the present state of things, it is not easy to throw all the blame on Providence. Other thoughts occur to us which we think it as well to keep to ourselves for the present. Our rulers at all events show no disposition to quiet the fears of their Irish myrmidons.

The destruction of the beasts that roam over the sites of once happy homes would look like a just judgment. If we had no hope of the regeneration of Ireland, we might be tempted to wish that her unnatural children should themselves be hurried amid the ruins of their country. But we have hope; and therefore we sincerely pray that the flocks and herds may flourish yet awhile.

Does it ever occur to these landlords that they might have been the rulers of this island? Do their degraded souls revolt at the thought of heaving from the foreigners? Do they wince when they are snubbed and sneered at and reviled? They do not. They have not the manhood even to dream of independence.

Therefore, they are doomed.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Sixteenth day of September, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing which is as follows, that is to say:—

PRIESTS IN POLITICS.

Nothing would please us better than to keep clear of the vexed question of “priests in politics,” if we could do so without injury to the cause which we are endeavouring to serve. But the question was forced upon us. We saw clearly that the people should be taught to distinguish between the priest as a minister of religion and the priest as a politician before they could be got to advance one step on the road to independence. The people for whom God created it must get this island into their own hands. If they do not the Irish nation must disappear from the face of the earth. Our beautiful and fruitful land will become a grazing farm for the foreigner's cattle, and the remnant of our race wanderers and outcasts all over the world, if English rule in Ireland be not struck down. Our only hope is in revolution. But most of the bishops and many of the clergy are opposed to revolution. Is it not then the duty of the Irish patriot, be he priest or layman, to teach the people that they have a right to judge for themselves in temporal matters? This is what we have done. We have over and over declared it was our wish that the people should respect and be guided by their clergy in spiritual matters. But when priests turn the altar into a platform; when it is pronounced a “mortal sin” to read the *IRISH PEOPLE*, a “mortal sin” even to wish that Ireland should be free; when priests actually

actually call upon the people to turn informers, and openly threaten to set the police upon the track of men who are labouring in the cause for which our fathers so often bled; when true men are reviled and slandered; when the uprooting of the people is called a "merciful dispensation of Providence"—when, in a word, bishops and priests are doing the work of the enemy, we believe it is our duty to tell the people that bishops and priests may be bad politicians and worse Irishmen.

Long before the establishment of this journal the bishops solemnly condemned "dangerous brotherhoods," whether oath-bound or not, and altar-dedications were the order of the day. The brotherhood of ST. PATRICK, an open and legal association, was denounced in precisely the same language as has since been applied to the so-called Fenians; and, though it had a priest for vice-president, its members were denied the sacraments of the Church. In fact, the cry raised against oaths and secrecy was a mere pretence. The Fenian Brotherhood in America, with the hope of steering clear of ecclesiastical censure, substituted a word of honour for the oath; but they gained nothing by the change. They were told a pledge was just as bad as an oath. In fact it is nonsense to talk of conciliating priests and bishops, who think it a crime to attempt to gain our liberty "by force and the aid of foreign armies." They would be opposed to any movement that might lead to the desired end. Liberty must be won by force or not at all. It is criminal in the eyes of certain ecclesiastics to attempt to save our country by force. Therefore we must either give up our country in despair, or teach the people to disregard politico-ecclesiastical dictation. The course we have pursued in reference to priests in politics was the only course open to us. We have never written a word calculated to injure religion in the slightest degree. We challenge our assailants to point to a single sentence in the *IRISH PEOPLE*, from its first number to the present, which could be construed into an attack upon religion. The charge that we are enemies of the Catholic Church is a vile calumny invented by trading politicians, and perhaps believed by weak men who are ready to believe anything of any one who would dare to question their right to dictate to the people, or to disturb the peaceful contentment of their lives.

Some persons find fault with the letters of our correspondents, and we have published the letters of the fault-finders as willingly as we have those to which they object. But for the life of us we can't see why well-meaning men should object to those letters. When an Archbishop O'BRIEN tears down the placards of *THE IRISH PEOPLE*, and denounces the man who sells it as Antichrist, we see no reason why such conduct should not be publicly condemned.

We would call the attention of our readers to a letter which we reprint from the *Irish American*. The writer, it will be seen, is as hard upon anti-Irish priests as any correspondent of *THE IRISH PEOPLE* could be. Yet the *Irish American* is a Catholic journal, and greatly admired by some of our assailants. This fact ought to convince honest men that the cry raised against us on the score of attacking priests is mere clap-net.

But after all the war we have been forced to wage against ecclesiastical dictation in politics has done some good. The people are now so used to denunciation there is no reason to fear they will be frightened by it when the time has come for the final struggle. This is something to be thankful for.

Against the peace of our Lady the Queen, Her Crown and dignity, and contrary to the form of the statute in such case made and provided.

AND THE JURORS AFORESAID, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present that the said John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore, not regarding the duty of their allegiance, but wholly withdrawing the love, obedience, fidelity, and allegiance which every true and faithful subject of our said Lady the Queen does and of right ought to bear towards our said Lady the Queen, after passing of an Act of Parliament made and passed in the Eleventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria, entitled "An Act for the Better Security of the Crown and Government of the United Kingdom," to wit on the First day of January, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-three, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did compass, imagine, invent, devise and intend to levy war against our said Lady the Queen within that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, in order, by force and constraint, to compel her to change her measures and counsels; and the said last-mentioned felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intent, the said John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore, then feloniously and wickedly did express, utter, and declare, by divers overt acts and deeds hereinafter mentioned, that is to say—

Here follow the same overt acts as in the First Count.

In order to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Manus O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Hattigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, John Murphy*, otherwise called *Pagan O'Leary, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to raise, make and levy insurrection and rebellion against our said Lady the Queen within this realm.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Manus O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Hattigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *John Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to subvert and destroy the constitution and government of this realm as by Law established.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Manus O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Hattigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *John Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to move and stir certain foreigners and strangers, to wit certain citizens of the United States of America, and persons resident in America, with force to invade that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Manus O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Hattigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *John Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to establish an unlawful association, the members whereof should take and bind themselves by an oath importing to bind the person taking the same to renounce allegiance to our Lady the Queen, to make Ireland an independent republic, to take up arms and fight at a moment's warning and to yield implicit obedience to the commands of his superiors.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary,*

*O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore, afterwards, to wit on the said first day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Manns O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Haltigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary, otherwise called John Murphy, Patrick Power, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the jurors aforesaid unknown, to become and be members of a certain society called and known as the *Furion Brotherhood*, having for its object the overthrow of Her Majesty's power and authority within that portion of her dominions called Ireland.*

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore, afterwards, to wit on the said first day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Manns O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Haltigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary, otherwise called John Murphy, Patrick Power, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the jurors aforesaid unknown to establish an unlawful association, the members whereof should take and bind themselves by an oath importing to bind the person taking the same to make Ireland an independent republic, to take up arms and fight at a moment's warning and to yield implicit obedience to the commands of his superior.*

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore, afterwards, to wit on the said first day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Manns O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Haltigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Patrick Power, Pagan O'Leary, otherwise called John Murphy, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the jurors aforesaid unknown, to establish an unlawful association, the members whereof should take and bind themselves by a pledge, importing to bind the person taking the same to renounce allegiance to our Lady the Queen, to make Ireland an independent republic, to take up arms and fight at a moment's warning, and to yield implicit obedience to the commands of his superiors.*

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore, afterwards, to wit on the first day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Manns O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Haltigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary, otherwise called John Murphy, Patrick Power, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the jurors aforesaid unknown, unlawfully to be trained and drilled, and to train and drill divers other persons, to the use of arms and to the practice of military movements, exercises and evolutions in order to fight with*

the troops of our Lady the Queen, and depose her from her power and authority in Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards to wit on the first day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Mann O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Hegbarre, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Holtigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Malcolay, Pagon O'Leary*, otherwise called *John Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the jurors aforesaid unknown, to procure provide and have divers large quantities of arms, to wit guns, muskets, pistols, swords, pikes, pike-handles, and pike-heads, and divers large quantities of ammunition, to wit gunpowder, leaden bullets, and slugs, with intent therewith to arm themselves, and other evil disposed persons, in order to raise, make and levy insurrection and war against our said Lady the Queen within this realm.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said first day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, did become and were members of an unlawful association called and known as the *Fenian Brotherhood*, having for its avowed and declared object the establishment of a Republic in Ireland, and the defeat and overthrow of the authority and power of Her Majesty the Queen in Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, Michael Moore*, and afterwards, to wit on the said first day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, did become members of an unlawful association, each of whom was required on becoming a member thereof, by the rules thereof, to take an oath, importing to bind the person taking the same, to make Ireland an independent republic, to take up arms and fight at a moment's warning, and to yield implicit obedience to the commands of his superiors.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said first day of January in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, well knowing that an association existed in America, called and known as the *Fenian Brotherhood*, having for its object the overthrow of Her Majesty's power and authority in Ireland, and the establishment of a republic in Ireland, did feloniously and wickedly, by divers writings, printings and publications endeavour to aid and assist said association in its said object and to advance and make known in this country the said object of said association, and to have it believed by the people of Ireland that an invasion would soon be made on Ireland by said association, with the intent that said writings, printings and publications should incite the people of Ireland to join said association, and be ready to aid and assist in said invasion, and to enter into and continue in war and rebellion against Her Majesty the Queen.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said first day of January, in the year aforesaid, and at divers other times subsequent thereto, having procured divers resolutions and proceedings of a certain society called the *Fenian Brotherhood* in the United States of America,

the

the object and design of which was to assist in an armed insurrection and rebellion against our said Lady the Queen within this realm, and to levy war against our said Lady the Queen, feloniously and wickedly did publish and make known the same in Ireland by means of a certain newspaper called the *Irish People*, with intent, and in order thereby to encourage and assist the organization of the said Society, and to further and aid in the said object and design thereof, and with intent to stir up and induce the subjects of our said Lady the Queen, and to prepare them to rise in rebellion and levy war against her in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the first day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did consent and conspire that *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, and Charles Joseph Kickham* should act and assume to act, under the name and title of "a Committee of Organization or Executive," as the officers and representatives in Ireland of a certain association called the *Fenian Brotherhood*, having for its object the overthrow of the Queen's authority in Ireland, and the establishment of a Republic in Ireland, with the intent and design of thereby achieving, aiding and abetting the said felonious intent and object of said association, called the *Fenian Brotherhood*.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said first day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did act as the officers of a certain association called the *Fenian Brotherhood*, having for its object the overthrow of the authority of the Queen, and the establishment of a Republic in Ireland, with the intent of aiding and abetting said association in the said felonious and treasonable object.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the first day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did enter into a treasonable conspiracy with each other, and with divers other evil disposed persons, and were members of an association called the *Fenian Brotherhood*, having for its object the overthrow of the Queen's power and authority, and the establishment of a Republic in Ireland; and as such members did establish and maintain a felonious and treasonable correspondence in writing with members of said association in America and in Ireland, and did collect and receive money, and did distribute sums of money, and did make divers journeys, and give orders and directions to divers persons, and did mutually aid and assist each the other, with the object and intent of advancing and effecting the said felonious object of said association called the *Fenian Brotherhood*.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said first day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did procure and circulate certain pamphlets treating on military affairs, and did seek to establish training schools, and instructions in military training and drilling, and did procure and circulate certain drill-books, and did make and procure certain pikes and weapons, and did distribute same through different places in Ireland, with the object and intent of preparing certain other evil disposed persons in Ireland to rise up and be in arms against Her Majesty in Ireland, and deprive Her of Her power and authority in Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary,*

O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore, afterwards, to wit, on the said first day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did publish a certain public newspaper called *The Irish People*, with the object, intention, and design of creating and exciting, through and by means of said public newspaper, discontent and dissension amongst Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland, and of causing said subjects to take up arms and rebel against Her Majesty the Queen.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said first day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, well knowing that a certain association existed in America called the *Fenian Brotherhood*, the members of which openly avowed and declared that the object of said association was the invasion of Ireland with an armed force and the overthrow of her Majesty's power and dominion, and the establishment of a Republic in Ireland, and well knowing that one *John O'Mahony* was a leading member of said association, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, feloniously and wickedly did conspire and agree with each other with the said *John O'Mahony*, with one *Charles Underwood O'Connell*, with *James Stephens*, and with divers other persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to forward, aid, and advance the object of said association by divers writings, printings, and publications published in a certain public newspaper in this country called *The Irish People*, and by reporting on divers days and times in said paper the advance and progress of said association of the *Fenian Brotherhood*, with the intent and design of inducing her Majesty's subjects in this country to aid and abet said association in the invasion of this country and the overthrow of Her Majesty's power and authority therein, and causing them to rise up (in arms) and rebel against her Majesty.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said first day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other and with *James Stephens, John O'Mahony, Charles Underwood O'Connell*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to incite and urge the subjects of Her Majesty in Ireland to join and become members of a certain association called the *Fenian Brotherhood*, having for its aim and object the overthrow and defeat of Her Majesty's power in Ireland, and the establishment of a Republic in Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the first day of January, in the year aforesaid, did feloniously and wickedly combine, conspire, confederate, and agree with each other and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Manus O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Cloissey, Cornelius O'Mahoney, John Haldigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Dowling Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *James Murphy, James O'Connor, Patrick Power*, and with divers other persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to assist, promote, contribute, and receive contributions for a certain fair at Chicago in America, and which said fair was designated, called, and known by the name of "The Chicago Fair," the profits and gains to be derived from which said fair were to be devoted to and used for the purpose of promoting, advancing, assisting and cherishing a certain Society and organization

sation existing in Ireland, the object, purpose, design, and intention of which said Society and organisation was to establish an Irish Republic, and to overthrow the authority and dominion in Ireland of our said Lady the Queen.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, intention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah Donaghy Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the twenty-eighth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain number of a certain public newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain printing, which is as follows, that is to say—

'82 AND '89.

Since the 12th century, England has been the unsleeping enemy of Ireland.

Generally her tyranny has shown itself in the form of undisguised oppression.

Sometimes, however, she has affected to conciliate and make great concessions to Ireland.

Whenever this has been the case, the apparent concession has invariably had the effect of extending her unjust authority. England's open and avowed hostility has never proved so effectual a method of rivetting on Ireland the fetters of alien rule, as her occasional insidious adoption of the fatal seeming of friendship.

There have been two very remarkable illustrations of this, within the last hundred years. The first was the acknowledgment of the independence of the Irish Parliament in 1782; the second was the concession of Catholic Emancipation in 1829.

These concessions have generally been looked upon as unalloyed benefits. Yet we assert that, owing to the manner in which they were gained, they have really proved curses, rather than blessings, to our country.

In '82 Ireland was on the point of achieving a glorious revolution. Had England not conceded at once, an appeal to arms would have been made by the Irish people, whose military might and enthusiasm, at that moment, were well nigh irresistible; while, on the other hand, the martial ardour and available resources of England had sunk to a low ebb. That, in the event of a war struggle, Ireland would have triumphed, no one can reasonably doubt. But victory in the field would have made her achievement of independence real and complete, not an abortive sham. It would have precipitated separation. It would have glorified the Irish people. And, doing so, it would have enabled the Catholics, with arms in their hands, to assert their right to religious liberty, and the whole democracy to demand and to win that preponderance of political power, to which they were entitled. Finally, it would have given Ireland an army and a navy, in a word, all the appliances and securities of real independence.

But no war struggle took place. England struck at once, and conceded. Thus the parliamentary independence of '82 was won, if not altogether ingloriously, at least peacefully, and the consequence was, it turned out, not independence, but a mockery and phantasm! True national independence was never and never will be anywhere achieved save by the sword. The revolution of '82 was, after all, a plausible, solemn, and deluding humbug: a clever manoeuvre of the English Government to transform a national movement of glorious promise into a mere imposing piece of pageantry. Accordingly, while a few orators distinguished themselves, the people at large were not enabled by sacrifices and heroic deaths. No permanent and potent military and naval organization, trained and tested by actual service, or really adequate to the task of guarding Ireland's independence, arose. The volunteer organization, as might be expected, dwindled and finally fell to pieces. GRATTAN, charmed with English concession, canted about loyalty, and resisted FLOOD's more daring tendencies towards separation. The people having done nothing so grand as to make their claims irresistible, GRATTAN could dare despise democracy and the reform convention; and FLOOD, though championing popular reform, leaning even towards separation, could inconsistently spurn at the idea of allowing the Catholics to be anything save bearers of wood and drawers of water. Had the people been enabled by a war of independence, these things could not have been so.

England's concession, then, was a master stroke of policy. The whole system that resulted from the arrangement of '82 was anomalous and absurd, and could by no possibility endure. According to the theory of '82, here were two countries with perfectly independent legislatures; yet united by that absurdity, "the golden link of the crown;" both legislatures, mark, having the power to impeach the king's ministers. Thus, the king's Irish ministers might, in obedience to the pressure of the Irish Legislature, have felt it necessary to advise him to declare war, as king of Ireland, against any given country; while, at the same time, his English ministers might have advised him, as king of England, to remain at peace, the interests of England, in the supposed case, requiring, and the feelings of the English Legislature being, in favour of peace. What charming "confusion worse confounded" should, in such an event, have arisen. In fact, considering the principle of ministerial responsibility under the '82 régime, circumstances might even have arisen in which George III., as King of Ireland, would have been called on to declare war against himself as King of England. Such a system could not last. The absurdity of "the golden

link" theory was, in effect, tested three times between '82 and 1800. The Act of Union was the natural result of '82. Ireland lost her golden opportunity the day on which English concession prevented her achievement of real independence by war.

The second instance to which we referred, as illustrative of the insidious nature of England's concessions to Ireland, was the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. We maintain that the chief effect of this belated concession has been to retard the winning of our independence and to demoralise thousands of our countrymen.

If the English Government had not conceded emancipation quietly, the Irish Catholics would at length have taken up arms to fight for their religious liberties. The Liberal Protestants would have joined them; and the struggle would have finally expanded into the grand proportions of a war of independence. Ireland would probably now be a country rejoicing in the blessings of independence, rich in the memories of a heroic national struggle, strong with the dignity, self-respect, and energy which result from success in such a struggle; instead of being to-day a byword and a mockery among the nations, she might be, in very deed, the freest, the most prosperous, the most glorious island of the sea.

But Emancipation was gained otherwise.. England, insidiously, and fatally for Ireland, conceded it ere a blow was struck.

There were two features, we may assert, in emancipation, which rendered its achievement detrimental to the prospects of Ireland.

The first was its being gained peacefully. This circumstance deprived it of all ennobling associations of sacrifice and heroism. All the memories connected with emancipation are of a commonplace or ignoble character, wholly unfitted to exalt the national mind.

The other had feature in emancipation, upon which we shall now touch, was the fact of its being gained separately from national independence. Being won peacefully, this was a matter of course.

Emancipation was a measure calculated, almost exclusively, to benefit the upper and middle classes of the Catholics. While it left the general population more miserable than it found them, its achievement and the subsequent corporation reforms opened up the paths of professional and parliamentary distinction to the wealthy and educated Catholics—in short, completely satisfied their ambition. This was a serious blow to the national hopes of Ireland. These intelligent and educated Catholics who ought to form the leaders, guides, champions, and rallying points of the people in any struggle for social and national regeneration, are separated from them ever since. Having gained their own point, having secured their own interests, gratified their own sordid ambition, they take no further part in struggles for country or countrymen. It is, in short, always an insidious and fatal boom, when the claims of what are styled the upper classes of a community are conceded separately from the rights of the people at large. The class gratified is thereby bought over from the struggle for the general weal. Thus emancipation in Ireland, separated from the cause of independence, has turned out to be simply a means, in the hands of the foreign Government of England, of bribing and corrupting wealthy or educated Catholics, of seducing them from the national ranks.

These pernicious results of emancipation would not be compensated by the fact of its having given us Catholic judges and magistrates to try the people, even if this last circumstance produced a fairer administration of justice, or, in other words, gave fairer play to the Catholic on trial, than he had before the year '29. But still less does the possession by Catholics of the seats of justice compensate for the demoralising results of emancipation, when we know that, so long as Ireland's present connection with England holds, and as long as our present aristocratic system lasts, whenever a Catholic peasant or patriot is arraigned before him, on political or agrarian charges, the Catholic judge will prove as supple and iniquitous a tool of tyranny as the most bigoted Orange partisan could be.

Truly it can afford slender consolation to the Catholic victim of landlordism to know that the special Commissioner who sentences him so oppressively to be hanged, is of the same creed with himself.

But there is one point, above all, which we should remember in estimating the effects of the Relief Act of '29. It is this:—While it never did a particle of good to the masses of the people, to-day more oppressed than ever, it has had the specious appearance of removing a grievance and an ignominy; and so has taken away one healthy element of wrath against British rule from the minds of the people, who unfortunately are, in most cases, more influenced by shows than by realities.

In a word, we do not hesitate to say, that emancipation has done more harm than good. To benefit Ireland, it should never have been separated from the national cause. It and Ireland's independence should have sunk or swum together; and it should have been won by the sword.

Finally.—If, on the one hand, emancipation has deprived the Irish people of those from whom, considering their talents and requirements, they might justly claim help and guidance in a struggle for independence; on the other hand, let us guard against exaggerating the importance of the loss. The commercial classes would, in any case, be liable to corrupting influences. In all countries, in times of perilous crisis, they have too often been found wanting in public virtue. The extinction of patriotism in the professional classes, however, is a more serious loss. Yet, even this is far from being ruinous. The most hasty glance will perceive, that are good men (more than enough, thank Heaven) to,

to fill up the gaps in the host of patriots. There are this moment in Ireland thousands of brave and intelligent young men, with life before them, and still unobscured by the seedling worklessness which here, even more than in other lands, besets the successful man. These young men, with thoughts freshened, and souls alive with faith and eager patriotism, have all the essential qualities which fit men to form the rallying points of a people in the hour of danger. Such were the men who officered the revolutionary armies of France, and, by their giant energy, overthrew the rotten fabrics of old European society. Young men, not equal to those whom we have yet available in Ireland, have led, in the present American war, with valour and devotion never surpassed, through battles terrible beyond all precedent, the companies and regiments of the Federal armies. In spite, then, of any and all untoward issues of the past, our confidence in the national cause should remain rooted and strong. Let the people only strive, with might and main, to develop and re-erect to vigorous life all the intelligence, energy, and virtue they have amongst themselves—let them do this, and they will soon find substitutes, within their own ranks, for the corrupt and craven classes that have abandoned the cause of their country. To this end, we say, let the people toil day and night. This is what is chiefly requisite, in order to make Ireland an independent nation!

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hepper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit, on the fifth day of December, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously expose, utter, and declare, by feloniously publishing in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing which is as follows, that is to say—

ADDRESS OF THE CHICAGO CONGRESS

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

Address of the Centres and Delegates of the Fenian Brotherhood in America, assembled in Convention in the City of Chicago, to their fellow-countrymen in Ireland.

Brothers,—We deem it prudent to withhold for the present from publication in the newspapers certain important Resolutions having special reference to the Revolutionary element in Ireland, which have been submitted to this Convention by the Head Centre of the Fenian Brotherhood in America, and unanimously adopted. Printed copies of these resolutions will be placed before the different circles of our organisation in this country, and will also be transmitted, at the earliest fitting opportunity, to our friends at home. In the meantime, we do not wish to separate without addressing to you a few guarded words—such as we can afford to have read by all whom it may concern—regarding the present aspect of our cause.

We are solemnly pledged to labour earnestly and continuously for the regeneration of our beloved Ireland. That pledge, with the blessing of Providence, we shall redeem; and when the wished-for hour will have arrived, we shall be prepared with you to meet the implacable persecutors of our race in battle array; to put an end for ever to the accursed system under which our unhappy people have suffered such cruel tortures, or die like men in the attempt. And in what holier cause has man ever died? How much Irish blood has fallen upon the battle fields of the world? Alas! how much Irish blood has been shed in the service of our country's oppressor? Over this subject, and others connected with it, we have pondered long and bitterly. But our resolve is fixed and irrevocable, the foul stigma which attaches to our name must be wiped out.

We do not ask, will you be ready? We know you are ready. Nine-tenths of the Irish people have been at all times ready, in heart and will, to dispute with armed hand the invader's right to enslave or exterminate them. But this is not enough. We must be "skilled to do," as well as "ready to dare." We are thoroughly convinced of the utter futility of legal and constitutional agitations, Parliamentary "policies," and all similar delusions. These things have brought more suffering upon our people than would be caused by the most protracted and devastating war. The best of them would but expose the ardent and the brave to the vengeance of local despots, and be it remembered that such sacrifices beget no noble aspirations.

No enslaved people ever regained their independence, or became formidable to their enslaver without "illegal" (in the enslaver's sense) pre-organisation. Poland had its illegal (in the Russian sense) organisation long before these glorious "legions of despair" unfurled the flag of revolution. Had Italy no illegal (in the Austrian sense) organisation, the sword of MacMahon had never flashed in victory on the field of Magenta. Had not the American colonies of England their trained militia, the "trampled provinces," could not have sprung into a "free and glorious republic." Hungary was pre-organised. But why multiply instances? The lesson which history teaches to struggling nationalities, and illustrates by many a bright and many a dark example, is that pre-organisation

is essential to success. With it there may be defeat and glory. Without it there must be defeat and shame. Some politicians seem to think anything approaching to a military organisation impossible in Ireland. But its possibility and feasibility, when guided by courage, prudence, devotion, and ability, have been proved to our satisfaction; and this fact is the very foundation of our conviction that the day of our deliverance is at hand. We say our deliverance, for the privileges of living among a free people and of sharing the blessings of free institutions, but make us feel the more keenly the sufferings and degradation of our own land. But our hearts swell with hope and exultation when we think of the living fire that burns within her shores, defying the combined efforts of open foe and false friend to extinguish it. No matter how powerful and devoted her exiled children might be, we should tremble for the issue if there were no true men left in Ireland, no worthy descendants and disciples of the heroes of '88. We do not wonder at the enemy's persistent endeavours to emasculate or banish you.

Americans already admit that the non-recognition of the Revolted States by England is due to the attitude which the Irish people have assumed, both at home and in this republic. If the Irish people at home and abroad were united in a band of brotherhood for the salvation of their own country, would the United States hesitate for an hour to strike a blow which would be followed by two inevitable results—peace in America and liberty in Ireland?

A deep responsibility rests upon Irishmen in the present generation. The fate of their country trembles in the balance. Emigration is doing its exhausting work. Other influences are leagued with the oppressor to quench the spirit which has triumphed over the dungeon and the scaffold, and which even famine could not kill. Let us falter now, and Ireland's doom is sealed; a grand old nation—grand even in her chains—is blotted from the map of the world. But there shall be no faltering, no cowardice. Our country cries to us for aid, and points to the grave which the foe has dug for her. Armed legions shall interpose between her and that grave.

Here we have soldiers armed and trained (thousands of them trained in the tested field and amid the smoke and thunders of battle), with able and experienced generals to lead them. Let the cities and towns and parishes of Ireland have their brigades, regiments, battalions, and companies of partially disciplined soldiers of liberty silently enrolled. Above all things, let every man be pledged to obey the commands of his superiors; and pledged also never to move without such command, for obedience to command is the first and most important requisite of the perfect soldier; all the rest is secondary. Thus you will not only be prepared to strike with effect, but all rash attempts at insurrection will be prevented. Without such an organisation as we contemplate, partial uprisings of the people will be sure to occur, leaving no results but the sacrifice of brave men, and, perhaps, the ruin of our cause. When we strike, let us strike home. And are there not strong arms within the enemy's own shores to second the blow? Circumstances are in our favour, such as Providence never before vouchsafed to an enslaved people. We have but to act as becomes brave and reasoning men, and ours shall be the pride and glory of lifting our sorrowing Erin of the Streams to her place among the nations.

Brothers, rely upon us. We rely upon you.

Chairman, *John Gibbons, Philadelphia.*

John O'Mahony,
President and Head Centre of the Fenian Brotherhood
of America.

Vice-President, *Richard Doherty, Indiana.*
Daniel Grady, District of Columbia.
Daniel Calowdy, Wisconsin.

Secretaries, *Henry O'C. McCarty, Illinois.*
John A. Stuart, Indiana.

New York Sunday Mercury.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hepper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit, on the nineteenth day of December, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare, by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

Meanwhile, fellow-countrymen, you will have nothing to do with these by-issues or false regeneration schemes of dreamers and mock patriots. You will not thus waste your time and energy. We believe you have at length found the true path in which to go. You will, then, prepare to regain your lost independence, which, we are never tired of repeating, can be won but by one method. This method sometimes fails to achieve independence, but no other method ever succeeds in winning it. Let anyone, who can do

so, point to a single instance in history of a subject nation throwing off a foreign yoke any way save by the sword. No one can do so. Let us each and all put trust in the might, the majesty and the glory of the people, and the revival of true national aspiration and action in our country shall, ere long, be manifest to the world !

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the Second day of January, in the year of our Lord One thousand Eight hundred and Sixty-four, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

Is it not owing to those false teachers, who thus delude the people into entertaining the pernicious notion that constant preparation is unnecessary, that in our own time we have seen so many opportunities, favourable to the achievement of our independence, slip past unexploited by ? During the early stages of the Crimean war the country was stripped of troops ; but an unprepared people could effect nothing. The opportunity came in vain. The first startling tidings of the Indian mutiny summoned most of the soldiers garrisoning Ireland to the defence of the Indian Empire. The barracks throughout Ireland are, for a brief space, well nigh empty. But the opportunity comes and goes, leaving the unprepared Irish people just as it found them. When the crisis was over, people began to wake up and find that they had let a first-rate chance slip through their fingers. The nation might then stand with mouth agape, like King O'TOOLE looking after his flown away geese. Nations that never relax preparations for the overthrow of their tyrants, are always able to seize on favourable opportunities.

However, we believe firmly, that Ireland has at last learned this, along with other essential truths—that self-reliance and never-ceasing preparation are, above all things, indispensable to a subject nation, if she should once conceive the glorious idea of attempting to rise from under the yoke of her oppressor !

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the Sixteenth day of January, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

That the death of GENERAL CONCORAN should have been mourned as a great calamity by our countrymen in America, is what every newspaper reader was prepared to learn. That the elite of the American people should pay all fitting respect to the memory of one whom they so much honoured in life was to be expected. But many appear to have been unprepared for the evidences of deep grief with which the news of the noble soldier's death was received in Ireland. He possessed none of those dazzling gifts which usually attract the crowd. He never sought to shine either as an orator or a writer. Indeed, his name scarcely ever appeared in a newspaper until his refusal to parade his regiment in honour of the heir apparent of the English Crown brought him prominently before the public. But long before that event, thinking men looked to MICHAEL CONCORAN as one destined to take a leading part in the liberation of his native land. He was among the first to recognise the necessity of a military organisation of our race. He saw that without such an organisation opportunities would come in vain, and like a true practical patriot, he at once set to work to band his countrymen together, and to train them in the use of arms. Up to the hour of his death the Fenian Brotherhood had in him an earnest and untiring worker. It was to him the directorship of the Brotherhood was intrusted during JOHN O'MAHONY'S absence in Europe a few years ago. We little thought, two short weeks ago, when publishing the following, which brought our noble friend so vividly to our recollection, that even then he slept the sleep that knows no waking :—

"I have called with O'M—— upon General Concoran, who fortunately happens to be in New York. Now here is a man. Have we duly appreciated the full meaning of his refusal to parade his regiment in honour of the son of the Queen of England ? Taking all the circumstances into account, it was an act of heroic courage and self-sacrifice. Then an ovation was given him on his return after his long imprisonment from Richmond, the like of which was hardly ever witnessed in America before ; but it did not turn his head in the least. When municipal representatives, and representatives of every sort thronged round him with addresses—while banners waved, and wail-like music, and the louder music of a hundred thousand throats rent the clouds—he turned to a friend near him, and calmly said :—' This is not for me ; this is America on her knees to Ireland.' I was greatly struck with the unassuming modesty of his manner. And how loving-solicitous were his inquiries about

about what was doing 'at home in Ireland'—to see his own expression. General CORCORAN is the right man in the right place. His devotion to the cause of the Republic was put to a severe test during his imprisonment; but General CORCORAN is not a man to be shaken by trifles. His loyalty to the land of his adoption, and the older and hotter allegiance to the land of his birth are entwined together, and strengthen and vivify each other. Happily they are never likely to be torn asunder. General CORCORAN intends applying for an extension of his leave of absence in order to attend the Convention of the Fenian Brotherhood in Chicago on the 3rd of November."

It was the opinion of men of judgment that General CORCORAN was fully equal to the command of a division. In fact, it would be hard to say what military position he was not equal to. He was never found wanting. In every position in which he was placed he was always the right man for it; and in every phase of his fortunes Ireland was his polar star. He laid all his laurels at the feet of his uncrowned queen. Alas! that it was not reserved for him to strike a soldier's blow for her—that he should go to his grave this darling hope of his life unfulfilled! An account of the manner of his death, with some incidents of his life, and the details of his funeral, will be found elsewhere in our columns. There is a gap in our ranks which it will not be easy to fill up. Yet how know we but that there are hundreds capable of following in his footsteps? The career of this man, sprung from the ranks of the people, and of the people, should be a bright encouragement to us. How ridiculous it would have appeared some fifteen years ago to prophesy that the raw Irish youth, with only as much education as the village school was able to afford him, was destined to command a legion in the field? Here is a glorious example for the membership of Ireland. But let it be borne in mind that MICHAEL CORCORAN did not become a General at a bound. He did not try to be a leader before he was fit to lead. He did his duty as an humble private, and rose slowly step by step, always studying to improve himself—always sober, honourable, humble, and virtuous. It was not by swagger he made his way upwards. He was an enthusiast it is true, but his enthusiasm was of the right stamp. It was the enthusiasm of the patient, silent worker. His was not the enthusiasm that finds vent in curses. MICHAEL CORCORAN was a worker, and we want the young men of Ireland to be workers. Let them remember that no man is a ready-made General. The true man is the man who does his duty in whatever position he may be placed; and the best man often rises from the ranks.

The loss of General CORCORAN has struck a pang to the heart of Ireland. This is a proof that Ireland lives. It lightened our grief to learn that strong men wept bitter tears for him; for it strengthened our conviction that the young men of Ireland had learned to distinguish real worth from empty pretension.

General CORCORAN has not lived in vain. And with the blessing of a just and merciful Providence the gallant soldiers he so often led will one day aid in raising a trophy to his memory under the blue skies of liberated Ireland.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Sixteenth day of January, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in said last-mentioned number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

The no-drop-of-blood doctrine—which well nigh converted a nation of men into a nation of helots—was promulgated in order to convert bishops and priests into agitators. Strange to say, it was reserved for the bishops and priests to sweep the last vestige of the abomination from the face of the land. The temporal authority of the Pope was encroached upon, and the Holy Father wanted men and money. He wanted soldiers to fight—that's what he wanted. We wonder had His Holiness any notion of what a precious thing a drop of blood was in Ireland. Well, our bishops and priests, forgetting (when it suited them) the pricelessness of the commodity, actually appealed to the young men of Ireland to gird up their loins, and, leaving fathers and mothers, and country and friends, to go forth to the battle field and pour out their drops of blood under a foreign sky, and leave their bones to bleach far away from poor old Ireland, where to fight would be a sin and a shame. For the Pope said there was no use "reasoning with a robber," which indeed is very true. The bishops even insisted, greatly to the disgust of pious and wealthy English Catholics, who would do anything for the Church short of endangering their precious lives, that the *green flag should be unfurled*. Ah! your Grace, how could you? Did you not know that not one among your Irish soldiers could look upon that flag without cursing in his heart the blessed "British Constitution," of which your Grace and your Lordships are such admirers? Did you not know that the Irish soldier, when he fixed his gaze upon that trampled banner, would pray to the good God to spare him—oh! to spare—now that he is a soldier.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham,*

Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore, did afterwards, to wit on the Thirteenth day of February, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—"The Approaching Crisis," and also the related words following, that is to say—

But the overthrow of the British Empire—that would be grand indeed! The day Irishmen humble the haughty crest of England, they chain the glory of Ireland for ever to the stars; they strike a blow that resounds through eternity. On that day prayers of gratitude and blessings shall mount to heaven from trampled regions in every corner of the globe, and Irishmen shall be hailed by the world, not merely as the deliverers of the sacred isle, but as the redeemers of enthralled mankind!

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the Twentieth day of February, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following: that is to say,—

The next best thing to the actual possession of arms is the desire to possess them; and we know the hands of thousands of our young countrymen are itching to clutch rifle or musket, not forgetting the stout old pike, which, minus and sword-bayonets notwithstanding, will, we believe, be heard of again in the world. A great deal has been written in Irish newspapers to encourage the people to procure arms. To be sure this has generally been done when there happened to be very little likelihood that the arms would be wanted for use, at least for a long time. And these practical articles, concerning target practice and the broadsword exercise, we have noticed to be "conspicuous for their absence" in the columns of our popular journals of late. Unfortunately, the men who would be most ready and willing to purchase rifles are those who cannot afford to purchase them. It is very discouraging too, we must admit, to those who can afford to purchase them, that their districts either are proclaimed, or may be proclaimed at any moment; and the alternative of giving up their arms, or running the risk of two years' imprisonment, is not a pleasant one. At present, however, it is not our intention to offer any opinion as to whether it is or is not the duty of all who can afford it to provide themselves with serviceable weapons of some sort. Upon this point let each man judge for himself and not accordingly. But we unhesitatingly assert that it is the bonaden duty of every Irishman to know at least how to load and discharge a fowling-piece. We blush to be obliged to acknowledge that there are thousands of good men in Ireland who could not hit a haystack, with rifle, musket, or carbine. This is a disgraceful fact. Yet it could be easily remedied, quietly and without attracting notice. The humblest man can find some one who will show him how to hold a gun firmly to his shoulder and look along the barrel to take aim, to put the hammer at half and full cock, and let it down carefully on the trigger: to put on the cap, run home the charge, &c. There is no reason for assembling in crowds to learn this much. A farmer's son could teach so much to the workmen while frightening the crows from the corn-field. And there are few young men in towns who cannot visit some country acquaintance, who happens to have a gun, on a Sunday or holiday, with a few peace worth of ammunition in his pocket. Much good might come of this in more ways than one. We know perfectly well that Irishmen can be made good soldiers by a comparatively short course of drill. Nevertheless a little knowledge, acquired beforehand, may prove useful. Every intelligent man can see this. We call upon our countrymen then to learn as much as they can of the use of arms. And let us never lose sight of the fact, that a disarmed people are slaves.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Nineteenth day of March, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following: that is to say,—

THE CHICAGO FAIR—DENUNCIATION.

We have to day to discharge the very pleasant duty of returning our sincere thanks to the many friends of Ireland, who have contributed to the Chicago Fair. We made no secret of the object which our countrymen in America had in view. We stated distinctly that the proceeds of this national undertaking were not intended to be sent to Ireland in the shape of alms for the destitute. We did not state precisely to what use the money would be turned, because we wished to keep clear of the Treason-Felony Act; but we were sufficiently explicit to be understood. Therefore, the hearty response to our appeal is a cheering evidence that the men and women of Ireland appreciate the labours of the Fenian Brotherhood, and are ready and willing to strive for the liberty of this down-trodden country, in the only way in which there is the slightest use in striving for it.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Seventh day of April, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

But in one of the cases to which we have alluded, something more even than a successful insurrection is demanded. And what is that? *An entire revolution, which will restore the country to its rightful owners.* And who are these? *THE PEOPLE.*

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Fourteenth day of May, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper, called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing which is as follows, that is to say—

The "Fenian Brotherhood" is rapidly organising in all the principal cities of the United States. The success of the Chicago Fair has greatly accelerated the influence of this organisation, which is devoted solely to the overthrow of English power in Ireland.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twenty-eighth day of May, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper, called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

If the Irish people at home looked, or seemed to look, to legal and constitutional agitators for guidance, the Fenian Brotherhood in America would give up Ireland in despair. Therefore, legal and constitutional agitators cannot be tolerated by earnest men. Fools and knaves—and perhaps some few well-meaning but weak men—may flock round them; but we can assure our exiled countrymen that the heart of Ireland revolts against the worn-out humbug of legal and constitutional agitation. We should treat the silly farce with contemptuous silence if we did not fear that our friends over the water might possibly misunderstand us. To make a long story short, the Irish people cannot afford to permit those platform patriots to destroy the only chance left us of saving the Irish nation from extinction.

In reference to a French invasion, all we need say is, that if *WOLFE TONE* had not left an organisation of the right sort behind him, a French fleet would never have sailed for our shores. Not only is organisation necessary to ensure us a fair chance of success in the event of a friendly force coming to our assistance—but no such friendly force will come if we are not organised.

Preparation is Ireland's only hope. The man who endeavours to obstruct the work of preparation, however good his intentions may be, is in reality, Ireland's enemy. The man who will do nothing directly or indirectly to help that work, can hardly be called her friend. Ireland's real friends are those who know their duty—and do it. That duty is comprised in one word—Preparation.

And

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the Eighteenth day of June, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

The overthrow of tyranny has always been the work of the people. It is by their combined and determined efforts that rulers are made and unmade. America and France have furnished us with glorious examples of this. But in the streets of Paris, and upon the rich soil of America, blood was shed before freedom came; and so must it be in Ireland. To win for ourselves an independence, to raise Ireland to her proper rank amongst the nations, we must not, when the time comes, be chary of our own or the enemy's blood.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the Nineteenth day of November, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

By force of arms Ireland was wrested from her rightful owners, the Irish people. By no other means will she ever be restored. And is she not "a land worth fighting for?"

The sentence is an admirable one. It indicates at once the means and the end, the only means that can ever prove effectual, the only end that is worth the work.

These means are simply the rifle and the sword and the cannon in the hands of those who know how to use them. And it is generally admitted that our countrymen have proved themselves, on a thousand battle-fields, not less proficient at that sort of work than their neighbours.

Every man has one simple object to accomplish. It is to rid the land of robbers, and to render every cultivator of the soil his own landlord, the proprietor, in fee-simple, of the house and land of his father, which will be an inheritance worth a freeman's while to bequeath to his children, and worth those children's while to enjoy in a nation which bows to no power under heaven!

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the Seventeenth day of September, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

OUR YEAR.

We have just completed one year of our existence to-day, and we think we can at least claim the one merit of having left a strong mark upon the popular mind. We were not ushered into the world by any preliminary trumpet flourish of prospectus or advertisement; we entered calmly upon the public stage, and we feel we tread it firmly now.

THE IRISH PEOPLE was not set up from any exaggerated notions of what newspapers could do. Our experience of what they could not do was of the saddest kind, and we were far from desiring to imitate our predecessors, either in their positive or negative policy. We did not want to write as they did, but above all we knew it was imperatively necessary, that while we wrote others should act; or that otherwise we might write till we grew grey without working much good for Ireland.

It is no boast, but simply the plain truth, to say that no paper has lived so long, and at the same time kept so steadily before the public mind the one great end—National Independence, and the one great means—armed resistance. The old Nation meant perhaps the same thing, and worked out its objects with an occasional ability, to which we do not lay claim, but there were essential differences which it would be tedious, and possibly not instructive, to point out here. It was overruled by the great authority of O'CONNELL, and the mind of DAVIS could never have fair play in a country which still clung tenaciously to a belief

a belief in moral force. But let us give praise where praise is due. The old Nation did great things in its day, and, possibly but for its teaching, we would not be here to-day to preach the old creed with larger experience, and, consequently, less limitations. In one part of the old Nation's policy—its strife with sectarianism—we could not do more than follow in its footsteps, and, by so doing, we have gained the same reward—the hatred of bigots. And here it may not be out of place to use the words of Davis on a similar occasion: "We look upon the Protestant's fear of the Catholic, and on the Catholic's fear of the Protestant, as rank nonsense. Their mutual dislike is something worse. And yet this trash and this crime have ruined the country." Alas, that it should be almost as necessary to write this to-day as when Davis wrote, and our pseudo-national papers are main cause that this is the case.

The *United Irishman*, *Felou*, and other papers, certainly spoke plainly enough—in point of fact too plainly, but never seemed to see the necessity of acting as well as speaking.

We have long had plenty men and papers to say and sing that Ireland ought and shall be free; but to do anything towards that end is pronounced by these doctrinaire demagogues high treason against common sense and the Catholic religion. We are gravely told (and the men who tell us say it is statesmanship) to sit still until the French come to free us, and in the meantime to try for Tenant Right, or the abolition of the Church Establishment, or anything you will. But, above all, we are urged to print pamphlets to be circulated abroad, and to send members to Parliament to make speeches which may be heard abroad.

We, and we alone, have steadily set our faces against all these by-gones. We hold it folly to petition Parliament, and cringe to go there. We have said that the less foreign nations heard of us until we had done something the better, and that it was not noisy pamphleteering abroad we needed, but silence at home. Let us gain freedom and we get everything, and for the attainment of that great end a hundred pikes in Ireland are worth a thousand pamphlets in France.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore, did afterwards, to wit on the Eighteenth day of March, in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

But the priests never will, never can, and never ought to be the leaders in an armed struggle; and nothing but an armed struggle can save Ireland. Hence, it was absolutely necessary to take political leadership out of the hands of the priests before the people could advance one step upon the right road. This is why we preach the doctrine of no priests in politics.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore did afterwards, to wit on the Twenty-fifth day of March, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

To our mind there is but one way to obtain Tenant Right, or any right at all, and that is by making Ireland free. To do this we must fight. To make this fight successful there should be union among all classes and creeds of oppressed Irishmen, and preparation. There are amongst us hundreds of thousands of Irishmen who believe this; but are they united—are they prepared? Many, we believe, are not. We also believe there are many "advanced Nationalists," professed "fighting men," who for one reason or another will steer clear of preparation. They'll be "the first to handle a pike," and "as good as any when the time comes;" but they'll take good care they'll be nothing else. If such men were honest and sincere in their professed willingness to risk their lives for the freedom of their country, they would prepare to achieve its freedom at the sacrifice of as few other lives as possible. They cannot expect that the number of men requisite for such a task will spring up spontaneously like mushrooms under the night dew. Neither can they expect, as JOE BRANNAN ironically observed of similar characters in '48, that they will get rifles from Heaven and angels to pull the triggers for them. They see that the practical endeavour to free Ireland is one of wearying toil, with perhaps a spire of danger in it too. To do nothing is the safer policy—the " prudent " one. This class of persons have always on their lips the parrot cry—" Unite, unite." Some of them have cried themselves down by it.

If "union" for the purposes of Irish liberty means anything, it means union such as existed amongst the men of '98, and we venture to say, if any similar kind of union was proposed to these men, they would, to use a common phrase, "run fifty miles away from you."

The "United Irishmen" calculated something upon those who would be "the first to handle a pike," who, with those who were to be "as good as any when the time came," remained looking at the brave men fighting till the time had passed away.

South of Wexford little if anything was done to forward the national struggle. Had every county done as much or half as much as Wexford, we should be a free and prosperous people to-day; there would be no famine graves, nor fallen Irish on foreign lands to darken the pages of our history.

To take a lesson from the "dead past" is the duty of the "living present." We would have the people unite north, south, east and west. Every creed and class we would have then unite and prepare, for without preparative union can avail nothing. We would have the hand of fellowship and friendship held out to every man willing to risk something for the freedom of his native land. We would say—

"Put faith in one another,"

but not in the one who would only be "as good as any when the time comes;" for their time is when you have succeeded.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit, on the Eighth day of April, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

Let Doctor MORIARTY leave that cause in the hands of the Fenian Brotherhood. They have toiled long and earnestly for its advancement. They have triumphed over difficulties which many thought insurmountable. They are on the right road—and we do not believe in two right roads to Irish independence. We trust the Fenian Brotherhood will hold no parley with agitators. And with all respect for Doctor MORIARTY we must say his project could lead to nothing but agitation. We like conciliation. All fair means should be tried to win the support of honest men, and even to secure their good will. But the toleration that encourages shame is fruitful of mischief.

Doctor MORIARTY is evidently very popular. He has been maligned and persecuted for his love of country. This is why we fear he may be able to persuade many to adopt his petitioning project. We are sure he means well; but we are equally sure he is mistaken. The petitions of Ireland will never be listened to till her flag floats over Dublin Castle; and it is to be hoped she will have no need of petitioning then.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twentieth day of April, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

Let us contrast Ireland in '48 with the Ireland of to-day. Our population now, thinned as it is by famine and exodus, is hardly more than five million strong. Yet we make bold to say, that the present diminished population of Ireland has in it the stuff to do better and braver deeds than the larger population of '48! And why? Simply because, at last, the Irish intellect is widened to the comprehension of the large idea of an Irish nation united and independent. The Irishmen of to-day are resolved to win the independence of Ireland, and nothing short of that. "Ireland for the Irish," and the land for the people! This is the grand idea now. Besides, Irishmen at length clearly see the only method by which this grand ideal can be realised. They know and feel that there is but one way by which subject nations can march to freedom!

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twenty-second day of April, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish*

People, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

PEACE IN AMERICA.

The existence of Ireland as a nation, depends upon the courage and devotedness of her sons of *Home and abroad*. And we firmly believe that those of our race who at this hour are willing to risk life and all that makes life dear for the liberty of their country, are sufficiently strong in numbers and resources for the work. But all their energies must be bent to the one sole object—Ireland needs them all. Therefore the news of peace in America will be glad news to Ireland. Our countrymen fell in such numbers in almost every battle, we lost so many brave and experienced officers who were devoted heart and soul to our cause, it is no wonder that the Irish people should have looked with sorrow, almost with dread, to a continuance of the terrible struggle. That struggle has cost Ireland dear. But, thank Heaven, if she has lost much, she has gained much. There are left tens of thousands of experienced soldiers whom she claims as her own. And as the clouds of battle roll away, and Peace resumes her reign over the great Republic, the one thought in the heart of the Irish soldier will be "*Now for old Ireland!*" Had they never been called upon to fight for the flag that sheltered them, they would have felt bound to come to the rescue of their fatherland. But having fought and bled for America, they are doubly bound to pay the debt they owe to Ireland. Nobly have they vindicated the gallantry of our race; but they have yet to prove to the world that Irish soldiers are not mere mercenaries. And in this light they know they will be regarded, even by the people whose battles they have fought, so long as the land of their birth remains a hegger and a slave. Notwithstanding all they have done, the shadow of their country's slavery is upon them; and as long as that country continues to be an object of pity and contempt, so long must her sons hang their heads for shame—so long shall they be "*the pariahs of society.*" And who will dare to say that the men who have proved their manhood on a hundred battle-fields will carry this load of disgrace to their graves? Who will say that the Irish people in America will not now work with might and main for the liberation of the land they love? They will not grudge to Ireland what they so freely gave to America. We shall welcome the tidings of peace from beyond the Atlantic, not only for the sake of the great Republic, but for the sake of our own suffering land.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Fifteenth day of July, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

We rejoice that the English hate us. We shall continue to rejoice, as long as they continue to hold our island. We are a distinct nation, and, therefore, independence alone can make us great or happy. But this hate, which the English feel, will sting our hearts to higher aspirations, and nerve our arms to stouter efforts, day after day till the precious prize be won. Let Ireland be once free, and, for us, Ireland's hatred of the English name may die out!

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twenty-ninth day of July, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

Two great evils have again been exhibited to the eyes of a disgusted world by the late sublime forces, which, under the name of elections, have been enacted in this country. One is the exertion of the brutal power with which "*territorial magnates,*" great and small, are invested, and by which nine hundred and fifty out of every thousand of the tenant-farmers of Ireland are compelled either to vote for the nominees of the landlords, or to become marks for persecution and destruction. The other is the prostitution of that sacred power over the consciences of the people with which ecclesiastics are clothed, in order to procure the return of those favoured candidates who will get places and pensions for "*nephews*" and "*cousins,*" and promote pet projects about denominational education, while Ireland is perishing. These evils still exist; but their day is near its close. Landlord tyranny will vanish when the land becomes the possession of the people. That will be accomplished; but never by English law. It will be accomplished—but *how and when* it

it is the business of those who desire it to find out for themselves. And when it is achieved the men who shall have won their country's independence with their victorious swords will know how to think and act on all secular subjects for themselves. The problem has been already solved in France, and it will be solved in Ireland.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Fifth day of August, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

The great real crime of every Irishman, in English eyes, is that his country is so rich and fertile and beautiful as it is—that its nationality is neither dead nor lost, but only sleeps for a season—and that none of its enemies can tell the day it may awake like the slumbering volcano to scorch and scatter its vermin oppressors to the four winds of heaven. Therefore it is feared and hated and slandered. The serpent beslimes what it intends to devour. But one thing should be remembered. Its head is not invulnerable—at least to lead and steel.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twelfth day of August, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing which is as follows, that is to say—

POPULARITY.

We do not attach any extraordinary importance to mere popularity. The man who is greeted with the loudest cheers is not always the man of most worth or ability, or even of most influence. Popularity and power are very different things. There may be popularity without political influence, and political influence without popularity.

The gift of the gab, with a good supply of what is commonly called brass, will often make the happy possessor a favourite with the crowd. The mere spouter of metaphors will be received with clapping of hands and waving of handkerchiefs. Such popularity is always delusive and never lasting.

TONE was not popular, nor DAVIS. The name of the founder of the great organisation which overspread the country like a network in '58, was quite unknown to the masses. And he who infused a living soul into Ireland during the Repeal agitation might have stood unnoticed in the midst of a monster meeting in his native Munster. Yet who will compare the influence of GRATTAN or O'CONNELL—mighty tribunes though they were—even upon the men of their own time—to say nothing of our time and all time—with that of TONE or DAVIS? The spirit which GRATTAN evoked is dead and gone; but the spirit of the United Irishmen lives. The fabric raised by the great agitator has crumbled to dust; while the words of DAVIS stir men's hearts in every quarter of the globe—for our people are scattered over the wide world.

Thus we find the worker and the thinker have more real influence than the popular leader, however gifted, who relies upon the power of oratory. How infinitely superior, then, is the worker to the mere demagogue?

But there is a popularity which is built upon a solid foundation. Men sometimes win their way to the hearts of their countrymen by toil and self-sacrifice in their country's cause. The practical patriot is not always left unrewarded till success has crowned his efforts, or the grave has closed over him. As one proof of this we may point to JOHN O'MAHONY. He has toiled hard and suffered much for Ireland; and he already has his reward in the love and trust of his countrymen. The estimation in which he is held by Irishmen is a proof that our people are no longer the blind tools of agitators and do-nothing leaders. Scarcely one among the politicians to whom the people at one time looked for guidance has said a good word of JOHN O'MAHONY since he set to work in the right way to prepare for a real struggle for the independence of his country. He has been foully slandered, but not one of these "leaders" uttered a word in his defence. On the contrary they are the friends and supporters of his slanderers.

These "leaders" abandoned their country in despair. They lost faith in the people. They blamed the people for the disgraceful failure which was the result of their own imprudence and incapacity. They turned to the English Parliament for "a redress of grievances," and put their faith in petitions. While professing themselves nationalists they threw every obstacle they could in the way of a true national movement. While bragging of their heaviness they took to "warning" the young men of Ireland against "rashness." Is it rashness to prepare cautiously, steadily, silently, for the opportunity

which even they pretend to hope for? The real rashness we opine would be not to prepare. Let them point out a single rash or imprudent act, to prove that the cause of Ireland has not been wisely directed since they gave it up for lost. They cannot do so. Yet all their movements, from the "Irish Alliance" to the "National Association" have been one series of bungling sham. As for the latter body its principal business appears to be to denounce true Irishmen as "miscreants." And the men who are doing their best to prop up this bungling seem to expect that the people will give them credit for devotion to Ireland.

The "leaders" to whom we refer were popular as long as the people believed them sincere. If they had only kept clear of "political intrigue," and let honest men alone, no word of blame or censure would ever have been uttered against them by us. Whatever we have written against them, has been written either in self-defence or to prevent the people from being turned from the path of duty. They ought to be convinced by this time that the people will not follow traditional patriotism even when allied with literary capacity. Popularity in Ireland now is the reward of deeds not words. Nevertheless, past errors need not stand in the way of any man who wishes really to serve his country. All is wanting is proof of sincerity. We have all of us something to forget and forgive for Ireland's sake. And perhaps the surest way to bring about an understanding between honest men who have been rendered, no matter by what cause, is to tell the honest truth openly and above board. The time is coming when Ireland will require the aid of every true Irishman. It will not be our fault if she does not have it.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the Twenty-sixth day of August, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in said last-mentioned number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing in a certain part of which these were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH PEOPLE.

SIR,

Clerihew, Clonmel, August 7th, 1865.

I am proud to inform you and every true Irishman who feels an interest in the present patriotic movement for the liberty of our country from the iron yoke of the Saxon, that the good cause has progressed favourably in this and the surrounding localities since I last had the honour of occupying a space in your journal. Indeed, Sir, the minds of the people have undergone a wonderful change. They seem to have lost all hope in agitation, and a great number have determined on another plan to redress their wrongs, the modes *apocryphal* of which is the pike and gun, or some other such weapons.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the said Twelfth day of August, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing which is as follows, that is to say—

CATTLE BEFORE MEN.

If the plague, which is spreading among the cattle in England, should reach this country, it is all up with the worshippers of the beast.

This year, according to the Registrar General's return—as quoted last week, at the Cattle Show banquet in Clonmel, by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant—the "herds" of which Ireland was predestined to be "the fruitful mother," number three millions and a-half. About the same number of human beings, made unto God's likeness, were swept away to make room for these herds. The landlords tremble for their short-horns. They call upon the Government to prohibit the importation of cattle lest the dreaded plague should be communicated to Ireland.

When the Irish people were dropping dead of hunger by the thousand, these landlords did not call upon the Government to save them. They saw the produce of our fruitful fields carried away, but they never asked that its exportation should be prohibited. They did not want to save the people. They hunted them like vermin off the face of the land. They seized upon the farmer's corn and his cattle, and drove him and his—the wife of his bosom, the children of his heart, the mother that bore him—drove them without mercy to the porchouse and the emigrant ship. They tore down the peasant's cabin, and doomed him to a pauper's grave. They ground the people without compunction, without mercy, and squandered the fruits of the toiler's labour in luxury and vice. And in this hellish work they were aided and abetted by our foreign rulers. Ejectment laws and "quarter-acre" clauses, made the work easy. But when it was thought the Celts were "gone with a vengeance,"

a vengeance," the landlords got an "Incumbered Estates Act" for their pains. "The name of an Irish landlord," said the Times, "sticks in the nostrils of Europe."

And now these cruel tyrants and crawling slaves, whose to their masters to shut out the plague from their pastures. These scourges of our people are unable to help themselves. They are mere tools in the hands of England. They are despised while they are used; and if it suited the interests of England, they would be driven from the land—even as they drove the rightful owners of it to make room for the beast that perishes.

But their English masters appear to be in no hurry to prohibit the importation of cattle. In fact they refuse to do so. Perhaps they do not wish to have it said that they care more for brute beasts than for men. Or is it that they would look upon a cattle plague in Ireland as a godsend. The people are dying from the land, and in the present state of things, it is not easy to throw all the blame on Providence. Other thoughts occur to us which we think it as well to keep to ourselves for the present. Our rulers at all events show no disposition to quiet the fears of their Irish myrmidons.

The destruction of the heaves that roam over the sites of once happy homes would look like a just judgment. If we had no hope of the regeneration of Ireland, we might be tempted to wish that her unnatural children should themselves be buried amid the ruins of their country. But we have hope; and therefore we sincerely pray that the flocks and herds may flourish yet awhile.

Does it ever occur to those landlords that they might have been the rulers of this island? Do the degraded souls revolt at the thought of begging from the foreigner? Do they wince when they are snubbed and sneered at and reviled? They do not. They have not the manhood even to dream of independence.

Therefore, they are doomed.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit, on the Sixteenth day of September, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing which is as follows, that is to say—

PRIESTS IN POLITICS.

Nothing would please us better than to keep clear of the vexed question of "priests in politics," if we could do so without injury to the cause which we are endeavouring to serve. But the question was forced upon us. We saw clearly that the people should be taught to distinguish between the priest as a minister of religion and the priest as a politician before they could be got to advance one step on the road to independence. The people for whom God created it must get this island into their own hands. If they do not the Irish nation must disappear from the face of the earth. Our beautiful and fruitful land will become a grazing farm for the foreigner's cattle, and the remnant of our race wanderers and outcasts all over the world, if English rule in Ireland be not struck down. Our only hope is in revolution. But most of the bishops and many of the clergy are opposed to revolution. Is it not then the duty of the Irish patriot, be he priest or layman, to teach the people that they have a right to judge for themselves in temporal matters? This is what we have done. We have over and over declared it was our wish that the people should respect and be guided by their clergy in spiritual matters. But when priests turn the altar into a platform; when it is pronounced a "mortal sin" to read the *IRISH PEOPLE*, a "mortal sin" even to wish that Ireland should be free; when priests actually call upon the people to turn infidels, and openly threaten to set the police upon the track of men who are labouring in the cause for which our fathers so often bled; when true men are reviled and slandered; when the uprooting of the people is called a "merciful dispensation of Providence"—when, in a word, bishops and priests are doing the work of the enemy, we believe it is our duty to tell the people that bishops and priests may be bad politicians and worse Irishmen.

Long before the establishment of this journal, the bishops solemnly condemned "dangerous brotherhoods," whether oath-bound or not, and altar-dedicated were the order of the day. The Brotherhood of St. PATRICK, an open and legal association, was denounced in precisely the same language as has since been applied to the so-called Fenians; and, though it had a priest for vice-president, its members were denied the sacraments of the Church. In fact, the cry raised against oaths and secrecy was a mere pretence. The Fenian Brotherhood in America, with the hope of securing clear of ecclesiastical censure, substituted a word of honour for the oath: but they gained nothing by the change. They were told a pledge was just as bad as an oath. In fact, it is nonsense to talk of conciliating priests and bishops, who think it a crime to attempt to gain our liberty "by force and the aid of foreign armies." They would be opposed to any movement that might lead to the desired end. Liberty must be won by force or not at all. It is criminal in the eyes of certain ecclesiastics to attempt to save our country by force. Therefore we must either give up our country in despair, or teach the people to disregard politico-ecclesiastical dictation. The course we have pursued in reference to priests in politics

politics was the only course open to us. We have never written a word calculated to injure religion in the slightest degree. We challenge our assailants to point to a single sentence in the *IRISH PEOPLE*, from its first number to the present, which could be construed into an attack upon religion. The charge that we are enemies of the Catholic Church is a vile calumny invented by trading politicians, and perhaps heeded by weak men who are ready to believe anything of any one who would dare to question their right to dictate to the people, or to disturb the peaceful contentment of their lives.

Some persons find fault with the letters of our correspondents, and we have published the letters of the fault-finders as willingly as we have those to which they object. But for the life of us we can't see why well-meaning men should object to these letters. When an Archbishop O'BRIEN tears down the placards of the *IRISH PEOPLE*, and denounces the man who sells it as Antichrist, we see no reason why such conduct should not be publicly condemned.

We would call the attention of our readers to a letter which we reprint from the *Irish American*. The writer, it will be seen, is as hard upon anti-Irish priests as any correspondent of the *IRISH PEOPLE* could be. Yet the *Irish American* is a Catholic Journal, and greatly admired by some of our assailants. This fact ought to convince honest men that the cry raised against us on the score of attacking priests is more clap-trap.

But after all the war we have been forced to wage against ecclesiastical dictation in politics has done some good. The people are now so used to denunciation there is no reason to fear they will be frightened by it when the time has come for the final struggle. This is something to be thankful for.

Against the peace of our Lady the Queen, Her Crown and Dignity, and contrary to the form of the Statute in such case made and provided.

AND THE JURORS AFORESAID, upon their oath aforesaid, do further present that the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, not regarding the duty of their allegiance, but wholly withdrawing the love, obedience, fidelity, and allegiance which every true subject of our Lady the Queen does, and of right ought to bear towards our said Lady the Queen, after the passing of an Act of Parliament made and passed in the Eleventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria, entitled "An Act for the Better Security of the Crown and Government of the United Kingdom," to wit, on the First day of January, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-three, and on divers other days as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did further compass, imagine, invent, devise, and intend to move and stir certain foreigners and strangers with force to invade that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, and the said last-mentioned felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did feloniously express, utter, and declare by divers overt acts and deeds hereinafter mentioned, that is to say—

Here follow the same overt acts as in the First and Second Counts.

In order to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Mannus O'Keeffe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Hultigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, John Murphy* otherwise called *Pagan O'Leary, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the jurors aforesaid unknown, to raise, make and levy insurrection and rebellion against our said Lady the Queen within this realm.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers
other

other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Mannus O'Keeffe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Haltigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *John Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil-disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to subvert and destroy the constitution and government of this realm as by law established.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kirkham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Mannus O'Keeffe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Haltigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *John Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil-disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to move and stir certain foreigners and strangers, to certain citizens of the United States of America, and persons resident in America, with force to invade that part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kirkham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Mannus O'Keeffe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Haltigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *John Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil-disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to establish an unlawful association, the members whereof should take and bind themselves by an oath importing to bind the person taking the same to renounce allegiance to our Lady the Queen, to make Ireland an independent republic, to take up arms and fight at a moment's warning and to yield implicit obedience to the commands of his superiors.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kirkham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Mannus O'Keeffe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Haltigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *James Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil-disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to become and be members of a certain society called and known as the *Fenian Brotherhood*, having for its object the overthrow of Her Majesty's power and authority within that portion of her dominions called Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kirkham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to

wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Mannus O'Keeffe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Hattigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *John Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to establish an unlawful association the members whereof should take and bind themselves by an oath importing to bind the person taking the same to make Ireland an independent republic, to take up arms and fight at a moment's warning and to yield implicit obedience to the commands of his superiors.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Mannus O'Keeffe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Hattigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Patrick Power, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *John Murphy*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to establish an unlawful association, the members whereof should take and bind themselves by a pledge, importing to bind the person taking the same to renounce allegiance to our Lady the Queen, to make Ireland an independent republic, to take up arms and fight at a moment's warning and to yield implicit obedience to the commands of his superiors.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other, and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Mannus O'Keeffe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Hattigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *John Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, unlawfully to be trained and drilled, and to train and drill divers other persons, to the use of arms and to the practice of military movements, exercises and evolutions in order to fight with the troops of our Lady the Queen, and depose her from her power and authority in Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Mannus O'Keeffe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Heyburne, John O'Clohisey, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Hattigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Downing Mulcahy, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *John Murphy, Patrick Power*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the jurors aforesaid unknown, to procure, provide and have divers large quantities of arms, to wit guns, muskets, pistols, swords, pikes, pike-handles and pike-heads, and divers large quantities of ammunition, to wit gunpowder, leaden bullets, and slugs, with intent therewith to arm themselves, and other evil disposed persons,

in order to raise, make and levy insurrection and war against our Lady the Queen within this realm.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, did become and were members of an unlawful association called and known as the *Fenian Brotherhood*, having for its avowed and declared object the establishment of a Republic in Ireland, and the defeat and overthrow of the authority and power of Her Majesty the Queen in Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, did become members of an unlawful association, each of whom was required, on becoming a member thereof, by the rules thereof, to take an oath, importing to bind the person taking the same to make Ireland an independent Republic, to take up arms and fight at a moment's warning, and to yield implicit obedience to the commands of his superiors.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, well knowing that an association existed in America, called and known as the *Fenian Brotherhood*, having for its object the overthrow of Her Majesty's power and authority in Ireland, and the establishment of a Republic in Ireland, did feloniously and wickedly, by divers writings, printings, and publications endeavour to aid and assist said association in its said object, and to advance and make known in this country the said object of said association, and to have it believed by the people of Ireland that an invasion would soon be made on Ireland by said association, with the intent that said writings, printings, and publications should incite the people of Ireland to join said association, and be ready to aid and assist in said invasion, and to enter into and continue in war and rebellion against Her Majesty the Queen.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit, on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and at divers other times subsequent thereto, having procured divers resolutions and proceedings of a certain society called the *Fenian Brotherhood* in the United States of America, the object and design of which was to assist in an armed insurrection and rebellion against our said Lady the Queen within this realm, and to levy war against our said Lady the Queen, feloniously and wickedly did publish and make known the same in Ireland by means of a certain newspaper called the *Irish People*, with intent, and in order thereby to encourage and assist the organisation of the said society, and to further and aid in the said object and design thereof, and with intent to stir up and incite the subjects of our said Lady the Queen, and to prepare them to rise in rebellion and levy war against her in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days

and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did consent and conspire that *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby and Charles Joseph Kickham*, should act and assume to act, under the name and title of "a Committee of Organisation or Executive," as the officers and representatives in Ireland, of a certain association called the *Fenian Brotherhood*, having for its object the overthrow of the Queen's authority in Ireland, and the establishment of a Republic in Ireland, with the intent and design of thereby achieving, aiding, and abetting the said felonious intent and object of said association, called the *Fenian Brotherhood*.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did act as the officers of a certain association, called the *Fenian Brotherhood*, having for its object the overthrow of the authority of the Queen, and the establishment of a Republic in Ireland, with the intent of aiding and abetting said association, in the said felonious and treasonable object.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit, on the First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did enter into a treasonable conspiracy with each other, and with divers other evil disposed persons, and were members of an association called the *Fenian Brotherhood*, having for its object the overthrow of the Queen's power and authority, and the establishment of a Republic in Ireland; and as such members did establish and maintain a felonious and treasonable correspondence in writing, with members of said association in America and in Ireland, and did collect and receive money, and did distribute sums of money, and did make divers journeys, and give orders and directions to divers persons, and did mutually aid and assist each the other, with the object and intent of advancing and effecting the said felonious object of said association called the *Fenian Brotherhood*.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit, on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did procure and circulate certain pamphlets treating on military affairs, and did seek to establish training schools, and instructors in military training and drilling, and did procure and circulate certain drill-books, and did make and procure certain pikes and weapons, and did distribute same through different places in Ireland, with the object and intent of preparing certain other evil disposed persons in Ireland to rise up and be in arms against Her Majesty in Ireland, and deprive her of her power and authority in Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit, on the said First day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did publish a certain public newspaper called *The Irish People*, with the object, intention, and design of creating and exciting, through and by means of said public newspaper, discontent and disaffection amongst Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland, and of causing said subjects to take up arms and rebel against Her Majesty the Queen.

And further to fulfil, perfect and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary,*

O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore, afterwards, to wit on the said first day of January in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times as well before as after that day, well knowing that a certain association existed in America called the *Fenian Brotherhood*, the members of which openly avowed and declared that the object of said association was the invasion of Ireland with an armed force and the overthrow of Her Majesty's power and dominion, and the establishment of a Republic in Ireland, and well knowing that one *John O'Mahony* was a leading member of said association, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, feloniously and wickedly did conspire and agree with each other with the said *John O'Mahony*, with one *Charles Underwood O'Connell*, with *James Stephens*, and with divers other persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to forward, aid, and advance the object of said association by divers writings, printings, and publications published in a certain public newspaper in this country called *The Irish People*, and by reporting on divers days and times in said paper the advance and progress of said association of the *Fenian Brotherhood*, with the intent and design of inducing Her Majesty's subjects in this country to aid and abet said association in the invasion of this country and the overthrow of Her Majesty's power and authority therein, and causing them to rise up (in arms) and rebel against Her Majesty.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the said first day of January, in the year aforesaid, and on divers other days and times, as well before as after that day, feloniously and wickedly did combine, conspire, confederate and agree with each other and with *James Stephens, John O'Mahony, Charles Underwood O'Connell*, and with divers other evil disposed persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to incite and urge the subjects of Her Majesty in Ireland to join and become members of a certain association called the *Fenian Brotherhood*, having for its aim and object the overthrow and defeat of Her Majesty's power in Ireland, and the establishment of a Republic in Ireland.

And further to fulfil, perfect, and bring to effect their felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, afterwards, to wit on the first day of January, in the year aforesaid, did feloniously and wickedly combine, conspire, confederate, and agree with each other and with *James Stephens, Hugh Francis Brophy, Edward Duffy, Charles Underwood O'Connell, John O'Mahony, Michael O'Boyle, Christopher Mann O'Keefe, George Archdeacon, Patrick Hegburne, John O'Cloisney, Cornelius O'Mahony, John Haltigan, Francis Patrick Cleary, Denis Donohue Mahony, Pagan O'Leary*, otherwise called *James Murphy, James O'Connor, Patrick Power*, and with divers other persons to the Jurors aforesaid unknown, to assist, promote, contribute, and receive contributions for a certain fair at Chicago in America, and which said fair was designated, called, and known by the name of "The Chicago Fair," the profits and gains to be derived from which said fair were to be devoted to and used for the purpose of promoting, advancing, assisting and cherishing a certain Society and organization existing in Ireland, the object, purpose, design, and intention of which said Society and organization was to establish an Irish Republic and to overthrow the authority and dominion in Ireland of our said Lady the Queen.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the twenty-eighth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain number

of a certain public Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain printing, which is as follows, that is to say—

'82 AND '29.

Since the 12th century, England has been the unceasing enemy of Ireland.

Generally her tyranny has shown itself in the form of un disguised oppression.

Sometimes, however, she has affected to conciliate and make great concessions to Ireland.

Whenever this has been the case, the apparent concession has invariably had the effect of extending her unjust authority. England's open and avowed hostility has never proved so effectual a method of rivetting on Ireland the fetters of alien rule, as her occasional insidious adoption of the fatal seeming of friendship.

There have been two very remarkable illustrations of this within the last hundred years. The first was the acknowledgment of the independence of the Irish Parliament in 1782; the second was the concession of Catholic Emancipation in 1829.

These concessions have generally been looked upon as unalloyed benefits. Yet we assert, that owing to the manner in which they were gained, they have really proved curses, rather than blessings, to our country.

In '82, Ireland was on the point of achieving a glorious revolution. Had England not conceded at once, an appeal to arms would have been made by the Irish people, whose military might and enthusiasm, at that moment, were well nigh irresistible; while, on the other hand, the martial ardour and available resources of England had sunk to a low ebb. That, in the event of a war struggle, Ireland would have triumphed, no one can reasonably doubt. But victory in the field would have made her achievement of independence real and complete, not an abortive sham. It would have precipitated separation. It would have glorified the Irish people. And, doing so, it would have enabled the Catholics, with arms in their hands, to assert their right to religious liberty, and the whole democracy to demand and to win that preponderance of political power, to which they were entitled. Finally, it would have given Ireland an army and a navy, in a word, all the appliances and securities of real independence.

But no war-struggle took place. England struck at once, and conceded. Thus the Parliamentary independence of '82 was won, if not altogether ingloriously, at least peacefully, and the consequence was, it turned out, not independence, but a mockery and phantasm! True national independence never was and never will be anywhere achieved, save by the sword. The revolution of '82 was, after all, a plausible, solemn, deluding humbug—a clever manoeuvre of the English Government to transform a national movement of glorious promise into a mere imposing piece of pageantry. Accordingly, while a few orators distinguished themselves, the people at large were not ennobled by sacrifices and heroic deaths. No permanent and potent military and moral organisation, trained and tested by actual service, or really adequate to the task of guarding Ireland's independence, arose. The volunteer organization, as might be expected, disarmed and finally fell to pieces. GRATTAN, charmed with English concession, canted about loyalty, and resisted FLOOD's more daring tendencies towards separation. The people having done nothing so grand as to make their claims irresistible—GRATTAN could dare despise democracy and the reform convention; and FLOOD, though championing popular reform, leaning even towards separation, could inconsistently spurn at the idea of allowing the Catholics to be anything save beavers of wood and drawers of water. Had the people been ennobled by a war of independence, these things could not have been so.

England's concession, then, was a master stroke of policy. The whole system that resulted from the arrangement of '82 was anomalous and absurd, and could by no possibility endure. According to the theory of '82, here were two countries with perfectly independent legislatures; yet united by that absurdity—"the golden link of the Crown;" both legislatures, mark, having the power to impeach the King's Ministers. Thus the King's Irish Ministers might, in obedience to the pressure of the Irish Legislature, have felt it necessary to advise him to declare war, as King of Ireland, against any given country; while, at the same time, his English Ministers might have advised him, as King of England, to remain at peace, the interests of England, in the supposed case, requiring and the feelings of the English Legislature being, in favour of peace. What charming "confusion worse confounded" should, in such an event, have arisen. In fact, considering the principle of ministerial responsibility under the '82 régime, circumstances might even have arisen, in which GEORGE III., as King of Ireland, would have been called on to declare war against himself, as King of England. Such a system could not last. The absurdity of "the golden link" theory was, in effect, tested three times between '82 and 1800. The Act of Union was the natural result of '82. Ireland lost her golden opportunity the day on which English concession prevented her achievement of real independence by war.

The second instance to which we referred, as illustrative of the insidious nature of England's concessions to Ireland, was the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. We maintain that the chief effect of this belated concession has been to retard the winning of our independence and to demoralise thousands of our countrymen.

If the English Government had not conceded Emancipation quietly, the Irish Catholics would, at length, have taken up arms to fight for their religious liberties. The liberal Protestants would have joined them; and the struggle would have finally expanded into

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the grand proportions of a war of independence. Ireland would probably now be a country rejoicing in the blessings of independence, rich in the memories of a heroic national struggle, strong with the dignity, self respect and energy, which result from success in such a struggle—instead of being to-day a by-word and a mockery among the nations, she might be, in very deed, the freest, the most prosperous, the most glorious island of the sea!

But Emancipation was gained otherwise. England, insidiously and fatally for Ireland, conceded it ere a blow was struck.

There were two features, we may assert, in Emancipation, which rendered its achievement detrimental to the prospects of Ireland.

The first was its being gained peacefully. This circumstance deprived it of all ennobling associations of sacrifice and heroism. All the memories connected with Emancipation are of a common-place or ignoble character, wholly unfitted to exalt the national mind.

The other bad feature in Emancipation, upon which we shall now touch, was the fact of its being gained separately from national independence. Being won peacefully, this was a matter of course.

Emancipation was a measure calculated almost exclusively to benefit the upper and middle classes of the Catholics. While it left the general population more miserable than it found them, its achievement and the subsequent corporation reforms opened up the paths of professional and Parliamentary distinction to the wealthy and educated Catholics, in short completely satisfied their ambition. This was a serious blow to the national hopes of Ireland. Those intelligent and educated Catholics, who ought to form the leaders, guides, champions, and rallying points of the people in any struggle for social and national regeneration, are separated from them ever since. Having gained their own point, having secured their own interests, gratified their own sordid ambition—they take no further part in struggles for country or countrymen. It is, in short, always an insidious and fatal blow, when the claims of what are styled the upper classes of a community are conceded separately from the rights of the people at large. The class gratified is, thereby, bought over from the struggle for the general weal. Thus Emancipation in Ireland, separated from the cause of independence, has turned out to be simply a means, in the hands of the foreign Government of England, of bribing and corrupting wealthy or educated Catholics, of seducing them from the national ranks.

These pernicious results of Emancipation would not be compensated by the fact of its having given us Catholic judges and magistrates to try the people, even if this last circumstance produced a fairer administration of justice, or, in other words, gave fairer play to the Catholic on trial, than he had before the year '29. But still less does the possession by Catholics of the seats of justice compensate for the demoralising results of Emancipation, when we know that, as long as Ireland's present connexion with England holds, and as long as our present aristocratic system lasts, whenever a Catholic peasant or patriot is arraigned before him, on political or agrarian charges, the Catholic judge will prove as supple and iniquitous a tool of tyranny, as the most bigoted Orange partisan could be.

Truly it can afford slender consolation to the Catholic victim of landlordism to know that the special commissioners, who sentence him so impressively to be hanged, is of the same creed with himself.

But there is one point, above all, which we should remember in estimating the effects of the Relief Act of '29. It is this:—While it never did a particle of good to the masses of the people, to-day more oppressed than ever, it has had the specious appearance of removing a grievance and an ignominy; and so has taken away one healthy element of wrath against British rule from the minds of the people, who unfortunately are, in most cases, more influenced by shows, than by realities.

In a word, we do not hesitate to say, that Emancipation has done more harm than good. To benefit Ireland, it should never have been separated from the national cause. It and Ireland's independence should have sunk or swam together; and it should have been won by the sword!

Finally—if, on the one hand, Emancipation has deprived the Irish people of those from whom, considering their talents and acquirements, they might justly claim help and guidance in a struggle for independence; on the other hand, let us guard against exaggerating the importance of the loss. The commercial classes would, in any case, be liable to corrupting influences. In all countries, in times of perilous crisis, they have too often been found wanting in public virtue. The extinction of patriotism in the professional classes, however, is a more serious loss. Yet, even this is far from being ruinous. The most hasty glance will perceive, that there are good men (more than enough, thank Heaven) to fill up these gaps in the host of patriotism. There are this moment, in Ireland, thousands of brave and intelligent young men, with life before them and still undeluded by the sordid worldliness which here, even more than in other lands, besets the successful man. These young men, with thoughts freshened and souls alive with faith and eager patriotism, have all the essential qualities which fit men to form the rallying-points of a people in the hour of danger. Such were the men who officered the revolutionary armies of France, and by their giant energy, overthrew the outworn fabrics of old European society. Young men, not equal to those whom we have yet available in Ireland, have led, in the present American war, with valour and devotion never surpassed, through battles terrible beyond all precedent, the companies and regiments of the Federal armies.

series. In spite then, of any and all untoward losses of the past, our confidence in the national cause should remain rooted and strong. Let the people only strive, with might and main, to develop and rouse to vigorous life all the intelligence, energy, and virtue they have amongst themselves—let them do this, and they will soon find substitutes, within their own ranks, for the corrupt and craven classes that have abandoned the cause of their country. To this end, we say, let the people toil day and night. This is what is chiefly requisite, in order to make Ireland an independent nation!

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Fifth day of December, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing which is as follows, that is to say—

ADDRESS OF THE CHICAGO CONGRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

ADDRESS of the Centres and Delegates of the Fenian Brotherhood in America, assembled in Convention in the City of Chicago, to their Fellow Countrymen in Ireland.

BROTHERS,—We deem it prudent to withhold for the present from publication in the newspapers certain important Resolutions having special reference to the Revolutionary element in Ireland, which have been submitted to this Convention by the Head Centre of the Fenian Brotherhood in America, and unanimously adopted. Printed copies of these resolutions will be placed before the different circles of our organization in this country, and will also be transmitted at the earliest fitting opportunity to our friends at home. In the meantime, we do not wish to separate without addressing to you a few guarded words—such as we can afford to have read by *all whom it may concern*—regarding the present aspect of our cause.

We are solemnly pledged to labour earnestly and continuously for the regeneration of our beloved Ireland. That pledge, with the blessing of Providence, we shall redeem; and when the wished for hour will have arrived, we shall be prepared with you to meet the implacable persecutors of our race in battle array; to put an end for ever to the accursed system under which our unhappy people have suffered such cruel tortures, or die like men in the attempt. And in what nobler cause has man ever died? How much Irish blood has fallen upon the battle fields of the world? Alas! how much Irish blood has been shed in the service of our country's oppressor? Over this subject, and others connected with it, we have pondered long and bitterly. But our resolve is fixed and irrevocable, the foul stigma which attaches to our name must be wiped out.

We do not ask, will you be ready? We know you are ready. Nine-tenths of the Irish people have been at all times ready, in heart and will, to dispute with armed hand the invader's right to enslave or exterminate them. But this is not enough. We must be "skilled to do" as well as "ready to dare." We are thoroughly convinced of the utter futility of legal and constitutional agitations, parliamentary "policies," and all similar delusions. These things have brought more suffering upon our people than would be caused by the most protracted and devastating war. The best of them would but expose the ardent and the brave to the vengeance of local despots, and be it remembered that such sacrifices heget no noble aspirations.

No enslaved people ever regained their independence, or became formidable to their enslaver without "illegal" (in the enslaver's sense) pre-organization. (Poland had its illegal (in the Russian sense) organization long before these glorious "legions of despair" unfurled the flag of revolution. Had Italy no illegal (in the Austrian sense) organization, the sword of McMahon had never flashed in victory on the field of Magenta. Had not the American colonies of England their trained militia, the "trampled province" could not have sprung into a "free and glorious republic." Hungary was pre-organized. But why multiply instances? The lesson which history teaches to struggling nationalities, and illustrates by many a bright and many a dark example, is that pre-organization is essential to success. With it there may be defeat and glory. Without it there must be defeat and shame. Some politicians seem to think anything approaching to a military organization impossible in Ireland. But the possibility and feasibility, when guided by courage, prudence, devotion, and ability, have been proved to our satisfaction; and this fact is the very foundation of our conviction that the day of our deliverance is at hand. We say our deliverance, for the privileges of living among a free people, and of sharing the blessings of free institutions, but make us feel the more keenly the sufferings and degradation of our own land. But our hearts swell with hope and exultation when we think of the living fire that burns within her shores, defying the combined efforts of open foe and false friend to extinguish it. No matter how powerful and devoted her exiled children might be, we should tremble for the issue if there were no true men left in Ireland, no worthy descendants and disciples of the heroes of '88. We do not wonder at the enemy's persistent endeavours to ensnare or banish you.

Americans already admit that the non-recognition of the Revolted States by England

is due to the attitude which the Irish people have assumed, both at home and in this republic. If the Irish people at home and abroad were united in a bond of brotherhood for the salvation of their own country, would the United States hesitate for an hour to strike a blow which would be followed by two inevitable results—peace in America and liberty in Ireland?

A deep responsibility rests upon Irishmen in the present generation. The fate of their country trembles in the balance. Emigration is doing its exhausting work. Other influences are leagued with the oppressor to quench the spirit which has triumphed over the dragon and the scaffold, and which even famine could not kill. Let us filter now, and Ireland's doom is sealed; a grand old nation—grand even in her chains—is blotted from the map of the world. But there shall be no filtering, no cowardice. Our country cries to us for aid, and points to the grave which the foe has dug for her. Armed legions shall interpose between her and that grave.

Here we have soldiers armed and trained (thousands of them trained in the tented field and amid the smoke and thunders of battle), with able and experienced generals to lead them. Let the cities and towns and parishes of Ireland have their brigades, regiments, battalions, and companies of partially disciplined soldiers of liberty silently enrolled. Above all things, let every man be pledged to obey the commands of his superiors; and pledged also never to move without such command, for obedience to command is the first and most important requisite of the perfect soldier; all the rest is secondary. Thus you will not only be prepared to strike with effect, but all rash attempts at insurrection will be prevented. Without such an organization as we contemplate, partial uprisings of the people will be sure to occur, leaving no results but the sacrifice of brave men, and, perhaps, the ruin of our cause. When we strike, let us strike home. And are there not strong arms within the enemy's own shores to second the blow? Circumstances are in our favour, such as Providence never before vouchsafed to an enslaved people. We have but to act as becomes brave and reasoning men, and ours shall be the pride and glory of lifting our sorrowing Erin of the Streams to her place among the nations.

Brothers, rely upon us. We rely upon you.

Chairman, *John Gibbons*, Philadelphia.

John O'Mahony,

President and Head Centre of the Fenian Brotherhood of America.

Vice-President, *Richard Doherty*, Indiana,

Daniel Greedy, Dis. of Columbia.

Daniel Calmesdy, Wisconsin.

Secretaries, *Henry O'C. McCarthy*, Illinois,

John A. Stuart, Indiana.

New York Sunday Mercury.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they, the said *John O'Leary*, *Thomas Clarke Luby*, *Charles Joseph Kickham*, *George Hopper*, *Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa*, *James O'Connor*, and *Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Nineteenth day of December, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

Meanwhile, fellow-countrymen, you will have nothing to do with these by-issues or false regeneration schemes of dreamers and mock patriots. You will not thus waste your time and energy. We believe you have at length found the true path in which to go. You will, then, prepare to regain your lost independence, which, we are never tired of repeating, can be won but by one method. This method sometimes fails to achieve independence, but no other method ever succeeds in winning it. Let any one, who can do so, point to a single instance in history of a subject nation throwing off a foreign yoke any way save by the sword. No one can do so. Let us each and all put trust in the might, the majesty and the glory of the people, and the revival of true national aspiration and action in our country shall, ere long, be manifest to the world!

And the said felonious compassing imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary*, *Thomas Clarke Luby*, *Charles Joseph Kickham*, *George Hopper*, *Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa*, *James O'Connor*, and *Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit, on the Second day of January, in the year of our Lord One thousand Eight hundred and Sixty-four, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing,

printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say -

Is it not owing to those false teachers, who thus delude the people into entertaining the pernicious notion that constant preparation is unnecessary, that in our own time we have seen so many opportunities, favourable to the achievement of our independence, slip past unexploited by ? During the early stages of the Crimean war the country was stripped of troops; but an unprepared people could effect nothing. The opportunity came in vain. The first startling tidings of the Indian mutiny summoned most of the soldiers garrisoning Ireland to the defence of the Indian Empire. The barracks throughout Ireland are, for a brief space, well nigh empty. But the opportunity comes and goes, leaving the unprepared Irish people just as it found them. When the crisis was over, people began to wake up and find that they had let a first-rate chance slip through their fingers. The nation might then stand with mouth agape, like King O'TOOLE looking after his flown away goose. Nations that never relax preparations for the overthrow of their tyrants, are always able to seize on favourable opportunities.

However, we believe firmly that Ireland has at last learned this, along with other essential truths—that self-reliance and never-ceasing preparation are, above all things, indispensable to a subject nation, if she should ever conceive the glorious idea of attempting to rise from under the yoke of her oppressor !

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit, on the Sixteenth day of January, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

That the death of General CORCORAN should have been mourned as a great calamity by our countrymen in America, is what every newspaper reader was prepared to learn. That the elite of the American people should pay all fitting respect to the memory of one whom they so much honoured in life was to be expected. But many appear to have been unprepared for the evidences of deep grief with which the news of the noble soldier's death was received in Ireland. He possessed none of those dazzling gifts which usually attract the crowd. He never sought to shine either as an orator or a writer. Indeed, his name scarcely ever appeared in a newspaper until his refusal to parade his regiment in honour of the heir apparent of the English crown brought him prominently before the public. But long before that event, thinking men looked to MICHAEL CORCORAN as one destined to take a leading part in the liberation of his native land. He was among the first to recognize the necessity of a military organisation of our race. He saw that without such an organisation opportunities would come in vain, and like a true practical patriot, he at once set to work to band his countrymen together, and to train them in the use of arms. Up to the hour of his death the Fenian Brotherhood had in him an earnest and untiring worker. It was to him the directorship of the Brotherhood was intrusted during JOHN O'MANORRY'S absence in Europe a few years ago. We little thought, two short weeks ago, when publishing the following, which brought our noble friend so vividly to our recollection, that even then he slept the sleep that knows no waking :—

"I have called with O'M—— upon General CORCORAN, who fortunately happens to be in New York. Now here is a man. Have we duly appreciated the full meaning of his refusal to parade his regiment in honour of the son of the Queen of England ? Taking all the circumstances into account, it was an act of heroic courage and self-sacrifice. Then an ovation was given him on his return, after his long imprisonment, from Richmond, the like of which was hardly ever witnessed in America before ; but it did not turn his head in the least. When municipal representatives, and representatives of every sort, thronged round him with addresses—while banners waved, and warlike music, and the louder music of a hundred thousand throats, rent the clouds—he turned to a friend near him and calmly said—' This is not for me ; this is America on her knees to Ireland.' I was greatly struck with the unassuming modesty of his manner. And how loving-anxious were his inquiries about what was doing 'at home in Ireland'—to use his own expression. General CORCORAN is the right man in the right place. His devotion to the cause of the Republic was put to a severe test during his imprisonment ; but General CORCORAN is not a man to be shaken by trifles. His loyalty to the land of his adoption, and the older and holier allegiance to the land of his birth are entwined together, and strengthen and vivify each other. Happily they are never likely to be torn asunder. General CORCORAN intends applying for an extension of his leave of absence in order to attend the Convention of the Fenian Brotherhood in Chicago on the 3rd of November."

It was the opinion of men of judgment that General CORCORAN was fully equal to the command of a division. In fact, it would be hard to say what military position he

was not equal to. He was never found wanting. In every position in which he was placed he was always the right man for it; and in every phase of his fortunes Ireland was his polar star. He laid all his laurels at the feet of his uncremated queen. Alas! that it was not reserved for him to strike a soldier's blow for her—that he should go to his grave this darling hope of his life unfulfilled! An account of the manner of his death, with some incidents of his life, and the details of his funeral, will be found elsewhere in our columns. There is a gap in our ranks which it will not be easy to fill up. Yet how know we but that there are hundreds capable of following in his footsteps? The career of this man, sprung from the ranks of the people, and of the people, should be a bright encouragement to us. How ridiculous it would have appeared some 15 years ago to prophesy that the raw Irish youth, with only as much education as the village school was able to afford him, was destined to command a legion in the field? Here is a glorious example for the manhood of Ireland. But let it be borne in mind that MICHAEL CONCORAN did not become a General at a bound. He did not try to be a leader before he was fit to lead. He did his duty as a humble private, and rose slowly but by step, always studying to improve himself—always sober, honourable, humble, and virtuous. It was not by swagger he made his way upwards. He was an enthusiast, it is true, but his enthusiasm was of the right stamp. It was the enthusiasm of the patient, silent worker. His was not the enthusiasm that finds vent in oarves. MICHAEL CONCORAN was a worker, and we want the young men of Ireland to be workers. Let them remember that no man is a ready-made General. The true man is the man who does his duty in whatever position he may be placed; and the best men often rise from the ranks.

The loss of General CONCORAN has struck a pang to the heart of Ireland. This is a proof that Ireland lives. It lightened our grief to learn that strong men wept bitter tears for him; for it strengthened our conviction that the young men of Ireland had learned to distinguish real worth from empty pretension.

General CONCORAN has not lived in vain. And with the blessing of a just and merciful Providence the gallant soldiers he so often led will one day aid in raising a trophy to his memory under the blue skies of liberated Ireland.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit, on the Sixteenth day of January, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare, by feloniously publishing in a certain other number of the said newspaper, called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say:—

The no-drop-of-blood doctrine—which well hath converted a nation of men into a nation of hebeot—was promulgated in order to convert bishops and priests into agitators. Strange to say, it was reserved for the bishops and priests to sweep the last vestige of the abomination from the face of the land. The temporal authority of the Pope was encroached upon, and the Holy Father wanted men and money. He wanted soldiers to fight—that's what he wanted. We wonder had His Holiness any notion of what a precious thing a drop of blood was in Ireland. Well, our bishops and priests, forgetting (when it suited them) the priestlessness of the commodity, actually appealed to the young men of Ireland to gird up their loins, and, leaving fathers and mothers, and country and friends, to go forth to the battle-field and pour out their drops of blood under a foreign sky, and leave their bones to bleach far away from poor old Ireland, where to fight would be a sin and a shame. For the Pope said there was no use "renouncing with a robber;" which, indeed, is very true. The bishops even insisted, greatly to the disgust of pious and wealthy English Catholics, who would do anything for the Church short of endangering their precious lives, that the *green flag should be unfurled*. Ah! your Grace, how could you? Did you not know that not one among your Irish soldiers could look upon that flag without cursing in his heart the blessed "British Constitution" of which your Grace and your Lordships are such admirers? Did you not know that the Irish soldier, when he fixed his gaze upon that trampled banner, would pray to the good GOD to spare him—oh! to spare—now that he is a soldier.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit, on the Thirteenth day of February, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper, called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—"The Approaching Crisis," and also the printed words following, that is to say:—

But the overthrow of the British Empire—that would be grand indeed! The day Irishmen humble the haughty crest of England, they chain the glory of Ireland for ever

to the Stars; they strike a blow that resounds through eternity. On that day, prayers of gratitude and blessings shall mount to heaven from trampled regions in every corner of the globe, and Irishmen shall be hailed by the world, not merely as the deliverers of the sacred Isle, but as the redeemers of enthralled mankind!

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the Twentieth day of February, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

The next best thing to the actual possession of arms is the desire to possess them; and we know the hands of thousands of our young countrymen are itching to clutch rifle or musket—not forgetting the stout old pike, which—Miles and sword-bayonets notwithstanding—will, we believe, be heard of again in the world. A great deal has been written in Irish newspapers to encourage the people to procure arms. To be sure this has generally been done when there happened to be very little likelihood that the arms would be wanted for use—at least for a long time. And these practical articles, concerning target practice and the broadsword exercise, we have noticed to be “conspicuous for their absence” in the columns of our popular journals of late. Unfortunately, the men who would be most ready and willing to purchase rifles are those who cannot afford to purchase them. It is very discouraging too, we must admit, to those who can afford to purchase them, that their districts either are proclaimed or may be proclaimed at any moment; and the alternative of giving up their arms, or running the risk of two years' imprisonment, is not a pleasant one. At present, however, it is not our intention to offer any opinion as to whether it is or is not the duty of all who can afford it to provide themselves with serviceable weapons of some sort. Upon this point let each man judge for himself and act accordingly. But we unhesitatingly assert that it is the bounden duty of every Irishman to know at least how to load and discharge a fowling-piece. We blush to be obliged to acknowledge that there are thousands of good men in Ireland who could not hit a hay-stack, with rifle, musket, or carbine. This is a disgraceful fact. Yet it could be easily remedied—quietly and without attracting notice. The humblest man can find some one who will show him how to hold a gun firmly to his shoulder and look along the barrel to take aim, to put the hammer at half and full cock, and let it down carefully on the pillar; to put on the cap, ram home the charge, &c. There is no reason for assembling in crowds to learn this much. A farmer's son could teach so much to the workmen while frightening the crows from the corn-field. And there are few young men in towns who cannot visit some country acquaintance, who happens to have a gun, on a Sunday or holiday, with a few pence worth of ammunition in his pocket. Much good might come of this in more ways than one. We know perfectly well that Irishmen can be made good soldiers by a comparatively short course of drill. Nevertheless a little knowledge acquired beforehand may prove useful. Every intelligent man can see this. We call upon our countrymen, then, to learn as much as they can of the use of arms. And let us never lose sight of the fact—that a disarmed people are slaves.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the Nineteenth day of March, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say,—

THE CHICAGO FAIR—DENUNCIATION.

WE have to-day to discharge the very pleasant duty of returning our sincere thanks to the many friends of Ireland who have contributed to the Chicago Fair. We made no secret of the object which our countrymen in America had in view. We stated distinctly that the proceeds of this national undertaking were not intended to be sent to Ireland in the shape of alms for the destitute. We did not state precisely to what use the money would be turned, because we wished to keep clear of the Tresson-Felony Act; but we were sufficiently explicit to be understood. Therefore, the hearty response to our appeal is a cheering evidence that the men and women of Ireland appreciate the labours of the Fenian Brotherhood, and are ready and willing to strive for the liberty of this down-trodden country, in the only way in which there is the slightest use in striving for it.

And

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Seventh day of April, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

But in one of the cases to which we have alluded, something more even than a successful insurrection is demanded. And what is that? *An entire revolution which will restore the country to its rightful owners.* And who are these? **THE PEOPLE.**

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Fourteenth day of May, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing which is as follows, that is to say—

The "*Fenian Brotherhood*" is rapidly organising in all the principal cities of the United States. The success of the Chicago Fair has greatly accelerated the influence of this organisation, which is devoted solely to the overthrow of English power in Ireland.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twenty-eighth day of May, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

If the Irish people at home looked, or seemed to look, to legal and constitutional agitators for guidance, the Fenian Brotherhood in America would give up Ireland in despair. Therefore, legal and constitutional agitators cannot be tolerated by earnest men. Fools and knaves—and, perhaps some few well-meaning but weak men—may flock round them; but we can assure our exiled countrymen that the heart of Ireland revolts against the worn-out humbug of legal and constitutional agitation. We should treat the silly farce with contemptuous silence if we did not fear that our friends over the water might possibly misunderstand us. To make a long story short, the Irish people cannot afford to permit those platform patriots to destroy the only chance left us of saving the Irish nation from extinction.

In reference to a French invasion, all we need say is, that if WOLFE TONE had not left an organization of the right sort behind him, a French fleet would never have sailed for our shores. Not only is organization necessary to ensure us a fair chance of success in the event of a friendly force coming to our assistance—but *no such friendly force will come if we are not organized.*

Preparation is Ireland's only hope. The man who endeavours to obstruct the work of preparation, however good his intentions may be, is, in reality, Ireland's enemy. The man who will do nothing directly or indirectly to help that work can hardly be called her friend. Ireland's real friends are those who know their duty—and do it. That duty is comprised in one word—**Preparation.**

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Eighteenth day of June, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

The overthrow of tyranny has always been the work of the people. It is by their combined and determined efforts that rulers are made and unmade. America and France have furnished us with glorious examples of this. But in the streets of Paris, and upon the rich soil of America, blood was shed before freedom came; and so it must be in Ireland. To win for ourselves an independence, to raise Ireland to her proper rank

amongst the nations, we must not, when the times comes, be chary of our own or the enemy's blood.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the Nineteenth day of November, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare, by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

By force of arms Ireland was wrested from her rightful owners, the Irish people. By no other means will she ever be restored. And is she not "a land worth fighting for?"

The sentence is an admirable one. It indicates at once the means and the end, the only means that can ever prove effectual, the only end that is worth the work.

These means are simply the rifle and the sword, and the cannon in the hands of those who know how to use them. And it is generally admitted that our countrymen have proved themselves on a thousand battle-fields not less proficient at that sort of work than their neighbours.

Every man has one simple object to accomplish. It is to rid the land of robbers, and to render every cultivator of the soil his own landlord, the proprietor, in fee simple, of the house and land of his father, which will be an inheritance worth a freeman's while to hoqueath to his children, and worth those children's while to enjoy in a nation which bows to no power under heaven!

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the Seventeenth day of September, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare, by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

OUR YEAR.

We have just completed one year of our existence to-day, and we think we can at least claim the one merit of having left a strong mark upon the popular mind. We were not ushered into the world by any preliminary trumpet flourish of prospectus or advertisement; we entered calmly upon the public stage, and we feel we tread it firmly now.

THE IRISH PEOPLE was not set up from any exaggerated notions of what newspapers could do. Our experience of what they could not do was of the saddest kind, and we were far from desiring to imitate our predecessors, either in their positive or negative policy. We did not want to write as they did, but above all, we knew it was imperatively necessary that while we wrote others should act; or that otherwise we might write till we grew grey without working much good for Ireland.

It is no boast, but simply the plain truth, to say that no paper has lived so long, and at the same time kept so steadily before the public mind the one great end, National Independence, and the one great means, armed resistance. The old *Nation* meant, perhaps, the same thing, and worked out its objects with an occasional ability, to which we do not lay claim, but there were essential differences which it would be tedious, and possibly not instructive, to point out here. It was over-awed by the great authority of O'CONNELL, and the mind of DAVIS could never have fairplay in a country which still clung tenaciously to a belief in moral force. But let us give praise where praise is due. The old *Nation* did great things in its day, and, possibly, but for its teaching, we would not be here to-day to preach the old creed with larger experience, and consequently less limitations. In one part of the old *Nation's* policy—its strife with sectarianism—we could not do more than follow in its footsteps, and, by so doing, we have gained the same reward—the hatred of bigots. And here it may not be out of place to use the words of DAVIS on a similar occasion: "We look upon the Protestant's fear of the Catholic, and on the Catholic's fear of the Protestant, as rank nonsense. Their mutual dislike is something worse. And yet this trash and this crime have ruined the country." Alas, that it should be almost as necessary to write this to-day as when DAVIS wrote, and our pseudo-national papers are the main cause that this is the case!

The *United Irishman*, *Felan*, and other papers, certainly spoke plainly enough—in point of fact too plainly, but never seemed to see the necessity of acting as well as speaking.

We have long had plenty of men and papers to say and sing that Ireland ought and shall be free; but to do anything towards that end is pronounced by those doctrinaire do-nothings high treason against common sense and the Catholic religion. We are gravely told (and the men who tell us say it is statesmanship) to sit still until the French come to free us, and

and in the mean time to try for Tenant Right, or the abolition of the Church Establishment, or anything you will. But, above all, we are urged to print pamphlets to be circulated abroad, and to send Members to Parliament to make speeches which may be heard abroad.

We, and we alone, have steadily set our faces against all those by-issues. We hold it folly to petition Parliament, and crime to go there. We have said that the less foreign nations heard of us until we had done something the better, and that it was not noisy pamphleteering abroad we needed, but silent action at home. Let us gain freedom and we get everything, and for the attainment of the great end a hundred pikes in Ireland are worth a thousand pamphlets in France.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Eighteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord One thousand Eight hundred and Sixty-five, further feloniously express, utter, and declare, by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

But the priest never will, never can, and never ought to be, the leaders in an armed struggle; and nothing but an armed struggle can save Ireland. Hence, it was absolutely necessary to take political leadership out of the hands of the priests before the people could advance one step upon the right road. This is why we preach the doctrine of no priests in politics.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twenty-fifth day of March, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

To our mind there is but one way to obtain Tenant Right, or any right at all, and that is by making Ireland free. To do this we must fight. To make this fight successful there should be union among all classes and creeds of oppressed Irishmen, and preparation. There are amongst us hundreds of thousands of Irishmen who believe this; but are they united—are they prepared? Many, we believe, are not. We also believe there are many "advanced Nationalists," professed "fighting men," who for one reason or another will steer clear of preparation. They'll be "the first to handle a pike," and "as good as any when the time comes"; but they'll take good care they'll be nothing else. If such men were honest and sincere in their professed willingness to risk their lives for the freedom of their country, they would prepare to achieve its freedom at the sacrifice of as few other lives as possible. They cannot expect that the number of men requisite for such a task will spring up spontaneously like mushrooms under the night dew. Neither can they expect, as JOE BRENNAN ironically observed of similar characters in '48, that they will get rifles from Heaven, and angels to pull the triggers for them. They see that the practical endeavour to free Ireland is one of wearying toil, with perhaps a spice of danger in it too. To do nothing is the safer policy—the "prudent" one. This class of persons have always on their lips the parrot cry—"unite, unite." Some of them have cried themselves down by it.

If "unite" for the purposes of Irish Liberty means anything, it means union such as existed amongst the men of '88, and we venture to say, if any similar kind of union was proposed to these men, they would, to use a common phrase, "run fifty miles away from you."

The "United Irishmen" calculated something upon those who would be "the first to handle a pike," who, with these who were to be "as good as any when the time came," remained looking at the brave men fighting till the time had passed away.

South of Wexford little if anything was done to forward the national struggle. Had every county done as much or half as much as Wexford, we should be a free and prosperous people to-day; there would be no famine graves, nor fallen Irish on foreign lands to darken the pages of our history.

To take a lesson from the "dead past" is the duty of the "living present." We would have the people unite north, south, east and west. Every creed and class we would have then unite and prepare, for without preparative union can avail nothing. We would have the hand of fellowship and friendship held out to every man willing to risk something for the freedom of his native land. We would say—

"Put faith in one another,"

but not in those who would only be "as good as any when the time comes," for their Time is when you have succeeded.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Eighth day of April, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

Let Doctor MORIARTY leave that cause in the hands of the Fenian Brotherhood. They have toiled long and earnestly for its advancement. They have triumphed over difficulties which many thought insurmountable. They are on the right road—and we do not believe in two right roads to Irish independence. We trust the Fenian Brotherhood will hold no parley with agitators. And with all respect for Dr. MORIARTY we must say his project could lead to nothing but agitation. We like conciliation. All this means should be tried to win the support of honest men, and even to secure their good will. But the toleration that encourages shame is fruitful of mischief.

Doctor MORIARTY is evidently very popular. He has been maligned and persecuted for his love of country. This is why we fear he may be able to persuade many to adopt his petitioning project. We are sure he means well; but we are equally sure he is mistaken. The petitions of Ireland will never be listened to till her flag floats over Dublin Castle; and it is to be hoped she will have no need of petitioning them.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twentieth day of April, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

Let us contrast Ireland in '48 with the Ireland of to-day. Our population now, thinned as it is by famine and exodus, is hardly more than five million strong; yet we make bold to say, that the present diminished population of Ireland has in it the stuff to do better, and braver deeds than the large population of '48! And why? Simply because, at last the Irish intellect is widened to the comprehension of the large idea of an Irish nation united and independent. The Irishmen of to-day are resolved to win the independence of Ireland, and nothing short of that. "Ireland for the Irish," and the land for the people! This is the grand idea now; besides, Irishmen at length clearly see the only method by which this great ideal can be realised. They know and feel that there is but one way by which subject nations can march to freedom!

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Twenty-second day of April, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

PEACE IN AMERICA.

The existence of Ireland as a nation depends upon the courage and devotedness of her sons at home and abroad. And we firmly believe that those of our race who at this hour are willing to risk life and all that makes life dear for the liberty of their country, are sufficiently strong in numbers and resources for the work. But all their energies must be bent to the one sole object; Ireland needs them all. Therefore the news of peace in America will be glad news to Ireland. Our countrymen fell in such numbers in almost every battle, we lost so many brave and experienced officers who were devoted heart and soul to our cause, it is no wonder that the Irish people should have looked with sorrow, almost with dread, to a continuance of the terrible struggle. That struggle has cost Ireland dear. But, thank Heaven, if she has lost much, she has gained much. There are left tens of thousands of experienced soldiers whom she claims as her own. And as the clouds of battle roll away, and peace resumes her reign over the great Republic, the one thought in the heart of the Irish soldier will be "Now for old Ireland!" Had they never been called upon to fight for the flag that sheltered them, they would have felt bound to come to the rescue of their fatherland. But having fought and bled for America, they are doubly

doubly bound to pay the debt they owe to Ireland. Nobly have they vindicated the gallantry of our race; but they have yet to prove to the world that Irish soldiers are not mere mercenaries. And in this light they know they will be regarded, even by the people whose battles they have fought, so long as the land of their birth remains a beggar and a slave. Notwithstanding all they have done, the shadow of their country's slavery is upon them; and as long as that country continues to be an object of pity and contempt, so long must her sons hang their heads for shame—so long shall they be "the pariahs of society." And who will dare to say that the men who have proved their manhood on a hundred battle-fields will carry this load of disgrace to their graves? Who will say that the Irish people in America will not now work with might and main for the liberation of the land they love? They will not grudge to Ireland what they so freely gave to America. We shall welcome the tidings of peace from beyond the Atlantic, not only for the sake of the great Republic, but for the sake of our own suffering land.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit, on the Fifteenth day of July, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say,—

We rejoice that the English hate us. We shall continue to rejoice as long as they continue to hold our island. We are a distinct nation, and, therefore, independence alone can make us great and happy. But this hate, which the English feel, will stir our hearts to higher aspiration, and nerve our arms to stouter efforts, day after day, till the precious prize be won. Let Ireland be once free, and, for us, Ireland's hatred of the English name may die out!

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit, on the Twenty-ninth day of July, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say,—

Two great evils have again been exhibited to the eyes of a disgusted world by the late sublime forces, which, under the name of decisions, have been enacted in this country. One is the exercise of the brutal power with which "territorial magnates," great and small, are invested, and by which nine hundred and fifty out of every thousand of the tenant-farmers of Ireland are compelled either to vote for the nominees of the landlords, or to become marks for persecution and destruction. The other is the prostitution of that sacred power over the consciences of the people with which ecclesiastics are clothed, in order to procure the return of these favoured candidates who will get places and pensions for "nephews" and "cousins," and promote pet projects about denominational education while Ireland is perishing. These evils still exist; but their day is near its close. Landlord tyranny will vanish when the land becomes the possession of the people. That will be accomplished, but never by English law. It will be accomplished—but how and when it is the business of those who desire it to find out for themselves. And when it is achieved the men who shall have won their country's independence with their victorious swords will know how to think and act on all secular subjects for themselves. The problem has been already solved in France, and it will be solved in Ireland.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Fifth day of August, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

The great real crime of every Irishman, in English eyes, is that his country is so rich and fertile and beautiful as it is—that its nationality is neither dead nor lost, but only sleeps for a season—and that none of its enemies can tell the day it may awake like the slumbering volcano to scorch and scatter its vermin oppressors to the four winds of heaven. Therefore it is feared and hated and slandered. The serpent bestimes what it intends to devour. But one thing should be remembered, its head is not invulnerable—at least to lead and steel.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit, on the Twelfth day of August, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing which is as follows, that is to say—

POPULARITY.

We do not attach any extraordinary importance to mere popularity. The man who is greeted with the loudest cheers is not always the man of most worth or ability, or even of most influence. Popularity and power are very different things. There may be popularity without political influence, and political influence without popularity.

The gift of the gab, with a good supply of what is commonly called *trues*, will often make the happy passer a favourite with the crowd. The mere speaker of metaphors will be received with clapping of hands and waving of handkerchiefs. Such popularity is always delusive and never lasting.

TONE was not popular, nor DAVIS. The name of the founder of the great organization which overspread the country like a network in '98, was quite unknown to the masses. And he who infused a living soul into Ireland during the Repeal agitation might have stood unnoticed in the midst of a monster meeting in his native Munster. Yet who will compare the influence of GRATTAN or O'CONNELL—mighty tribunes though they were—even upon the men of their own time—to any nothing of our time and all time—with that of TONE or DAVIS? The spirit which GRATTAN evoked is dead and gone; but the spirit of the United Irishmen lives. The fabric raised by the great agitator has crumbled to dust; while the words of Davis stir men's hearts in every quarter of the globe—for our people are scattered over the wide world.

Thus we find the worker and thinker have more real influence than the popular leader, however gifted, who relies upon the power of oratory. How infinitely superior, then, is the worker to the mere demagogue?

But there is a popularity which is built upon a solid foundation. Men sometimes win their way to the hearts of their countrymen by toil and self-sacrifice in their country's cause. The practical patriot is not always left unrewarded till success has crowned his efforts, or the grave has closed over him. As one proof of this we may point to JOHN O'MAHONY. He has toiled hard and suffered much for Ireland; and he already has his reward in the love and trust of his countrymen. The estimation in which he is held by Irishmen is a proof that our people are no longer the blind tools of agitators and demagogues. Scarcely one among the politicians to whom the people at one time looked for guidance has said a good word of JOHN O'MAHONY since he set to work in the right way to prepare for a real struggle for the independence of his country. He has been foully slandered, but not one of those "leaders" uttered a word in his defence. On the contrary they are the friends and supporters of his slanderers.

These "leaders" abandoned their country in despair. They lost faith in the people. They blamed the people for the disgraceful failure which was the result of their own imprudence and incapacity. They turned to the English Parliament for "a redress of grievances," and put their faith in petitions. While professing themselves nationalists they threw every obstacle they could in the way of a true national movement. While bragging of their bravery they took to "warning" the young men of Ireland against "rashness." Is it rashness to prepare cautiously, steadily, silently, for the opportunity which even they pretend to hope for? The real rashness we opine would be not to prepare. Let them point out a single rash or imprudent act, to prove that the cause of Ireland has not been wisely directed since they gave it up for lost. They cannot do so. Yet all their movements, from the "Irish Alliance" to the "National Association" have been one series of bungling shams. As for the latter body its principal business appears to be to denounce true Irishmen as "miscreants." And the men who are doing their best to prop up this humbug seem to expect that the people will give them credit for devotion to Ireland.

The "leaders" to whom we refer were popular as long as the people believed them sincere. If they had only kept clear of "political intrigue" and let honest men alone, no word of blame or censure would ever have been uttered against them by us. Whatever we have written against them, has been written either in self-defence or to prevent the people from being turned from the path of duty. They ought to be convinced by this time that the people will not follow traditional patriotism even when allied with literary capacity. Popularity in Ireland now is the reward of deeds not words. Nevertheless, past errors need not stand in the way of any man who wishes really to serve his country. All is wanting in proof of sincerity. We have all of us something to forget and forgive for Ireland's sake. And perhaps the surest way to bring about an understanding between honest men who have been slandered, no matter by what cause, is to tell the honest truth openly and above board. The time is coming when Ireland will require the aid of every true Irishman. It will not be our fault if she does not have it.

And

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, intention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor* and *Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the Twenty-sixth day of August, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in said last-mentioned number of the said Newspaper called the *The Irish People*, a certain other printing, in a certain part of which there were and are the printed words following, that is to say—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH PEOPLE.

Sir,

Clerihan, Clonmel, August 7th, 1865.

I am proud to inform you and every true Irishman who feels an interest in the present patriotic movement for the liberty of our country from the iron yoke of the Saxon, that the good cause has progressed favourably in this and the surrounding localities since I last had the honour of occupying a space in your journal. Indeed, Sir, the minds of the people have undergone a wonderful change. They seem to have lost all hope in agitation, and a great number have determined on another plan to redress their wrongs, the *modus operandi* of which is the pike and gun, or some other such weapons.

And the said feloniously compassing, imagination, invention, device, and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor*, and *Michael Moore* did afterwards, to wit on the said Twelfth day of August, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing, in a certain other number of the said Newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing which is as follows, that is to say—

CATTLE BEFORE MEN.

If the plague, which is spreading among the cattle in England, should reach this country, it is all up with the worshippers of the beast.

This year, according to the Registrar General's return—as quoted last week, at the Cattle Show Banquet in Clonmel, by his Excellency the Lord LIEUTENANT—the “herds” of which was predestined to be “the fruitful mother,” number three millions and a-half. About the same number of human beings, made unto God's likeness, were swept away to make room for these herds. The landlords tremble for their short-horns. They call upon the government to prohibit the importation of cattle lest the dreaded plague should be communicated to Ireland.

When the Irish people were dropping dead of hunger by the thousand, these landlords did not call upon the Government to save them. They saw the produce of our fruitful fields carried away, but they never asked that its exportation should be prohibited. They did not want to save the people. They hunted them like vermin off the face of the land. They seized upon the farmer's corn and his cattle, and drove him and his—the wife of his bosom, the children of his heart, the mother that bore him—drove them without mercy to the poorhouse and the emigrant ship. They tore down the peasant's cabin and doomed him to a pauper's grave. They ground the people without compensation, without mercy, and squandered the fruits of the toiler's labour in luxury and vice. And in this hellish work they were aided and abetted by our foreign rulers. Ejectment laws and “quarter-acre” clauses made the work easy. But when it was thought that the Celts were “gone with a vengeance,” the landlords got an “Innumerable Estates Act” for their pains. “The name of an Irish landlord,” said the *Times*, “sticks in the nostrils of Europe.”

And now these cruel tyrants and crawling slaves, whine to their masters to shut out the plague from their pastures. These scourges of our people are unable to help themselves. They are mere tools in the hands of England. They are despised while they are used; and if it suited the interests of England they would be driven from the land—even as they drove the rightful owners of it to make room for the beast that perished.

But their English masters appear to be in no hurry to prohibit the importation of cattle. In fact they refuse to do so. Perhaps they do not wish to have it said that they care more for brute beasts than for men. Or is it that they would look upon a cattle plague in Ireland as a godsend? The people are flying from the land, and, in the present state of things, it is not easy to throw all the blame on Providence. Other thoughts occur to us which we think it as well to keep to ourselves for the present. Our rulers, at all events, show no disposition to quiet the fears of their Irish myrmidons.

The destruction of the beasts that roam over the sites of once happy homes would look like a just judgment. If we had no hope of the regeneration of Ireland, we might be tempted to wish that her unnatural children should themselves be buried amid the ruins of their country. But we have hope; and therefore we sincerely pray that the flocks and herds may flourish yet awhile.

Does it ever occur to those landlords that they might have been the rulers of this island? Do their degraded souls revolt at the thought of hogging from the foreigner? Do they wince when they are snubbed and sneered at and reviled? They do not. They have not the manhood even to dream of independence.

Therefore, they are doomed.

And the said felonious compassing, imagination, invention, device and intention aforesaid, they the said *John O'Leary, Thomas Clarke Luby, Charles Joseph Kickham, George Hopper, Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, James O'Connor, and Michael Moore*, did afterwards, to wit on the Sixteenth day of September, in the year last aforesaid, further feloniously express, utter, and declare by feloniously publishing in a certain other number of the said newspaper called *The Irish People*, a certain other printing which is as follows, that is to say—

PRIESTS IN POLITICS.

Nothing would please us better than to keep clear of the vexed question of "priests in politics," if we could do so without injury to the cause which we are endeavouring to serve. But the question was forced upon us. We saw clearly that the people should be taught to distinguish between the priest as a minister of religion and the priest as a politician before they could be got to advance one step on the road to independence. The people for whom God created it must get this island into their own hands. If they do not the Irish nation must disappear from the face of the earth. Our beautiful and fruitful land will become a grazing farm for the foreigner's cattle, and the remnant of our race wanderers and outcasts all over the world, if English rule in Ireland be not struck down. Our only hope is in revolution. But most of the bishops and many of the clergy are opposed to revolution. Is it not then the duty of the Irish patriot, be he priest or layman, to teach the people that they have a right to judge for themselves in temporal matters? This is what we have done. We have over and over declared it was our wish that the people should respect and be guided by their clergy in spiritual matters. But when priests turn the altar into a platform; when it is pronounced a "mortal sin" to read *The Irish People*, a "mortal sin" even to wish that Ireland should be free; when priests actually call upon the people to turn informers, and openly threaten to set the police upon the track of men who are labouring in the cause for which our fathers so often bled; when true men are reviled and slandered; when the uprooting of the people is called a "merciful dispensation of Providence"—when, in a word, bishops and priests are doing the work of the enemy, we believe it is our duty to tell the people that bishops and priests may be bad politicians and worse Irishmen.

Long before the establishment of this journal the bishops solemnly condemned "dangerous brotherhoods," whether oath-bound or not, and altar-dedications were the order of the day. The Brotherhood of St. Patrick, an open and legal association, was denounced in precisely the same language as has since been applied to the so-called Fenians; and, though it had a priest for vice-president, its members were denied the sacraments of the Church. In fact, the cry raised against oaths and society was a mere pretence. The Fenian Brotherhood in America, with the hope of steering clear of ecclesiastical censure, substituted a word of honour for the oath; but they gained nothing by the change. They were told a pledge was just as bad as an oath. In fact it is nonsense to talk of conciliating priests and bishops, who think it a crime to attempt to gain our liberty "by force and the aid of foreign armies." They would be opposed to any movement that might lead to the desired end. Liberty must be won by force or not at all. It is criminal in the eyes of certain ecclesiastics to attempt to save our country by force.

Therefore we must either give up our country in despair, or teach the people to disregard politico-ecclesiastical dictation. The course we have pursued in reference to priests in politics was the only course open to us. We have never written a word calculated to injure religion in the slightest degree. We challenge our assailants to point to a single sentence in the *IRISH PEOPLE*, from its first number to the present, which could be construed into an attack upon religion. The charge that we are enemies of the Catholic Church is a vile calumny invented by trading politicians, and perhaps believed by weak men who are ready to believe anything of any one who would dare to question their right to dictate to the people, or to disturb the peaceful contentment of their lives.

Some persons find fault with the letters of our correspondents, and we have published the letters of the fault-finders as willingly as we have those to which they object. But for the life of us we can't see why well-meaning men should object to those letters. When an Archbishop O'Brian tears down the placards of the *IRISH PEOPLE*, and denounces the man who sells it as Antichrist, we see no reason why such conduct should not be publicly condemned.

We would call the attention of our readers to a letter which we reprint from the *Irish American*. The writer, it will be seen, is as hard upon Anti-Irish priests as any correspondent of the *IRISH PEOPLE* could be. Yet the *Irish American* is a Catholic journal, and greatly admired by some of our assailants. This fact ought to convince honest men that the cry raised against us on the score of attacking priests is mere clap-trap.

But

But after all the war we have been forced to wage against ecclesiastical dictation in politics has done some good. The people are now so used to denunciation there is no reason to fear they will be frightened by it when the time has come for the final struggle. This is something to be thankful for.

Against the Peace of our Lady the Queen, Her Crown, and Dignity, and contrary to the form of the Statute in that case made and provided.

A true Bill for self and fellow Jurors.

Joseph Cazzon, Chairman.

And thereupon, then and there, on the said Monday the twenty-seventh day of the said month of November, in the twenty-ninth Year of the Reign aforesaid, and in the Year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, at Six of the clock in the afternoon of the said last-mentioned day, the delivery of the gaols of Our said Lady the Queen, for the said County of the City of Dublin, and all and singular the further and other proceedings of the said Sessions of Oyer and Terminer, and General Gaol Delivery, are duly adjourned by the said Justices and Commissioners to the day following, to wit, Tuesday the twenty-eighth day of November aforesaid, and on the said last-mentioned day the further and other proceedings of the said Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery are again duly adjourned by the said Justices and Commissioners, and so continued by adjournment from time to time until Thursday the sixth day of December, in the said Twenty-ninth Year of the Reign of Our Lady the Queen, and in the Year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, upon which said last-mentioned day, to wit, on the said Friday the nineteenth day of January, in the Twenty-ninth Year of the reign aforesaid, and in the Year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, the said delivery of the gaols for the said County of the said City of Dublin, and the further and other proceedings of the said Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery, are held by the said adjournment for the said County of the City at Green-street aforesaid, before the said Justices and Commissioners of Our said Lady the Queen.

And thereupon, then and there, on the said Thursday, the sixth day of the said month of December in the Twenty-ninth year of the Reign of our said Lady the Queen, at the said Delivery of the said Gaols aforesaid, and at the said Sessions of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery, held by the said adjournment for the said County of the City at Green-street aforesaid, before the said Justices and Commissioners of our Sovereign Lady the Queen, comes the said Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, in his proper person, in the custody of Joseph Royce, Esquire, High Sheriff of the said County of the City of Dublin, to whose custody the aforesaid Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, for the cause aforesaid was before that time committed. And he the said Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, having heard the indictment aforesaid read, and being then and there asked how he would acquit himself thereof, saith he is not guilty of the offences in the indictment aforesaid above specified and charged, or any of them, and thereof for good or ill puts himself upon the country, and so forth; and the said James Anthony Lawson, Attorney-General of Our said Lady the Queen, who for our said Lady the Queen in this behalf prosecutes, doth the like, and so forth; whereupon the said Sheriff for the County of the City of Dublin aforesaid, is by the Court here commanded that he cause immediately to come before the Justices and Commissioners aforesaid, at the said Sessions of Oyer and Terminer aforesaid, at Green-street aforesaid, a Jury of honest and lawful men of the body of the said County of the City, and so forth, by whom the truth of the matter may be better known, and who are of no affinity to the said Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa to recognise upon their oaths whether he be guilty of the offences in the said indictment above charged and specified, or any of them, or not guilty, and so forth, because as well the said Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, as the said James Anthony Lawson,

Attorney-General of Our said Lady the Queen, who for Our said Lady the Queen in this behalf prosecutes, have put themselves thereof upon that Jury; and the Jurors of that Jury by the said Sheriff of the said County of the said City for this purpose impanelled, and here returned, being call thereupon, came

And hereupon Hugh Vaughan Ambrose Nugent, Richard Dowd, Thomas Matthews, Robert Green, John Cochrane, Joseph Garratt, James Henry Connell, John Traynor, Owen McCaffrey, William Nolan, and Henry Shaw, twelve of the said Jurors, being called come, and in due form of law severally are sworn on the said Jury to try the said issue.

And hereupon then and there the said twelve Jurors of the said Jury so impanelled being duly elected, returned, and sworn to speak the truth of and concerning the premises in the indictment aforesaid above specified and charged, do say upon their oaths aforesaid that he the said Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa is guilty of the felony in the said first count of the indictment aforesaid above specified and charged in manner and form as the same is charged and alleged against the said Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa in the said first count thereof, and in like manner also that the said Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa is guilty of the felony in the said second count of the indictment aforesaid, and in like manner also that the said Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa is guilty of the felony in the said third count of the indictment aforesaid.

Upon which it is demanded of him, the said Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, whether he now hath anything to say for himself, wherefore the said Justices and Commissioners ought not, upon the premises and verdict aforesaid to proceed to judgment against him the said Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa for the said felonies in the said indictment above specified and alleged, who nothing further saith to that behalf than he before had said.

And, hereupon, all and singular the premises being seen by the said Commissioners and Justices and fully understood, it is considered and adjudged by the Court here that the said Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, for the said felony, in the said first count of the indictment above specified, he kept in penal servitude for the whole term of his natural life from the day and year last aforesaid, and in like manner that he the said Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, for the said felony, in the said second count of the indictment above specified, he kept in penal servitude for the whole term of his natural life from the day and year last aforesaid, and in like manner that he the said Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, for the said felony in the said third count of the indictment above specified, he kept in penal servitude for the whole term of his natural life, from the day and year last aforesaid; and in like manner that he, the said Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, for the said felony in the said third count of the indictment above specified, he kept in penal servitude for the whole term of his natural life, from the day and year last aforesaid.

I hereby certify under my hand, that the foregoing Paper is a true copy of the Record of the Indictment, Trial, and Conviction of, and the judgment upon, the before-named Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa.

Dated this 7th day of February 1870.

E. Geale,

Clerk of the Crown for the County, and County of the City of Dublin, and having the custody of the Records of the Court where the above-mentioned conviction took place.

COPY of the RECORD of the CONVICTION and of
the JUDGMENT in the Case of *The Queen against*
Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa, tried at a Special
Commission of Oyer and Terminer, held at
Dublin on 27 November 1885.

(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
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